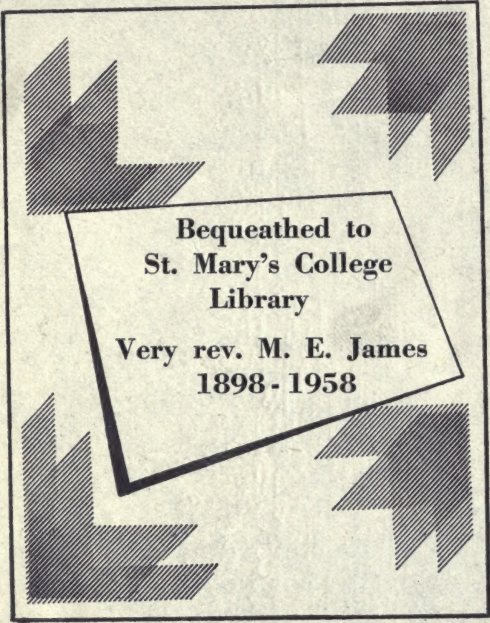


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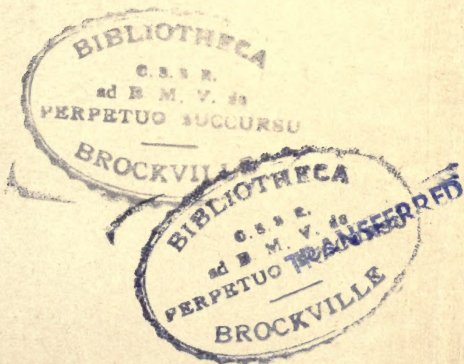
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SELECTIONS

FROM

EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS





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SELECTIONS
FROM
EARLY WRITERS
ILLUSTRATIVE OF
CHURCH HISTORY
TO THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE

BY

HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, M.A.

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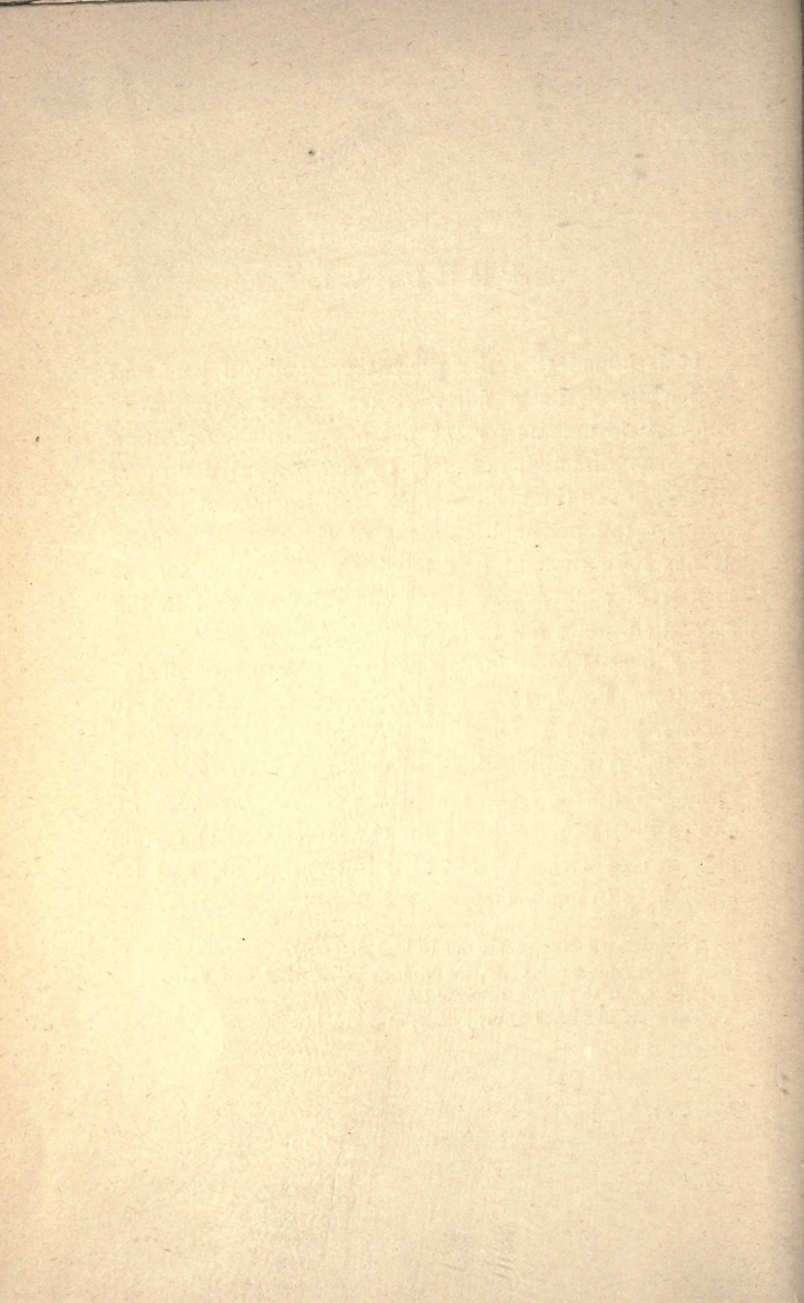
PREFACE

IT is hoped that the present volume will be found within its limits a fairly representative selection of original documents for the use of students. Attention has been directed, not only to the general course of events, but to the history of the New Testament Canon, and to the personal opinions of conspicuous writers. It has been thought best to give a translation for the benefit of such as are but mean scholars, and in this second edition a few introductory notes are given.

My best thanks are due to the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund, to Mr. Parker, of Oxford, and to Messrs. T. and T. Clark, of Edinburgh, for the use of translations mentioned below¹; also to Dr. Zahn, of Erlangen, for the Latin text of the *Canon Muratorianus*, and to Professor Robinson for the Greek text of certain passages of Origen², for certain translations, and for much help in many directions.

¹ Translations marked L. are due to Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*; R. to Professor Robinson; N.L. to the *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*; A.N.L. to the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

² These are numbered XLVIII, XLIX, LIa, LIb, LII.



CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION	<i>Tacitus</i> 2
2. OPENING OF CLEMENT'S LETTER TO THE CORINTHIANS	<i>Clement of Rome</i> 2
3. THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION	<i>do.</i> 4
4. ARRANGEMENTS SETTLED BY THE APOSTLES	<i>do.</i> 6
4a. THE PERSECUTION OF DOMITIAN	<i>Dio Cassius</i> 10
5. IGNATIUS ON EPISCOPACY	<i>Ignatius</i> 12
6. IGNATIUS ON DOCETISM	<i>do.</i> 12
7. THE CHRISTIANS IN THE WORLD	<i>Ep. ad Diognetum</i> 12
8. CHURCH ORDER OF THE DIDACHÉ	<i>Didache</i> 18
9. PLINY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH TRAJAN	<i>Pliny</i> 26
10. THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION	<i>Eusebius</i> 30
11. OF THE CANONICAL EPISTLES	<i>do.</i> 32
12. OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	<i>do.</i> 34
13. PAPIAS	<i>do.</i> 38
14. QUADRATUS ON OUR LORD'S MIRACLES	<i>do.</i> 44
14a. THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES	<i>Vita Barlaam</i> 44
15. HEATHENISM THE WORK OF DEMONS	<i>Justin</i> 46
16. CHRISTIANITY BEFORE CHRIST	<i>do.</i> 48
17. CHRISTIAN WORSHIP	<i>do.</i> 50
18. THE JEWISH INTERPRETATION OF ISA. VII. 14	<i>do.</i> 56
19. THE CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF VARIOUS PASSAGES	<i>do.</i> 56
19a. THE ENCRATITES	<i>Eusebius</i> 58
20. LETTER OF DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH TO THE ROMANS	<i>do.</i> 60
21. THE PERSECUTION AT LYONS AND VIENNE	<i>do.</i> 62

	PAGE
22. FRAGMENT OF MURATORI ON THE CANON	82
23. ORIGIN OF THE GOSPELS <i>Eusebius</i>	88
24. MONTANISM <i>Hippolytus</i>	90
25. LETTER OF IRENAEUS TO FLORINUS <i>Eusebius</i>	92
26. LETTER OF POLYCRATES TO VICTOR <i>do.</i>	94
27. MARCION <i>Irenaeus</i>	96
28. THE ARGUMENT OF IRENAEUS FROM TRADITION <i>do.</i>	98
29. A TRADITION OF THE ELDERS <i>do.</i>	104
30. PHILOSOPHY A PREPARATION FOR THE GOSPEL <i>Clement of Al.</i>	106
31. THE TRUE GNOSTIC <i>do.</i>	106
32. FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE <i>do.</i>	108
33. MISUSE OF SCRIPTURE BY HERETICS <i>do.</i>	108
34. BAD EMPERORS THE ONLY PERSECUTORS <i>Tertullian</i>	110
35. TESTIMONY OF THE SOUL <i>do.</i>	112
36. CHRISTIANS NOT DISLOYAL <i>do.</i>	114
37. NUMBERS OF THE CHRISTIANS <i>do.</i>	114
38. CHRISTIAN WORSHIP <i>do.</i>	116
38a. NON-SCRIPTURAL CUSTOMS <i>do.</i>	118
39. PHILOSOPHY THE MOTHER OF HERESY <i>do.</i>	118
40. THE ARGUMENT OF TERTULLIAN FROM TRADITION <i>do.</i>	120
41. DISORDERLY WORSHIP OF HERETICS <i>do.</i>	122
42. THE ROMAN BISHOP'S EDICT <i>do.</i>	124
43. INCONVENIENCES OF A MIXED MARRIAGE <i>do.</i>	124
44. THE MISDEEDS OF PRAXEAS <i>do.</i>	126
45. INFANT BAPTISM <i>do.</i>	128
46. MISDEEDS OF CALLISTUS <i>Hippolytus</i>	128
47. ORIGEN'S CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION <i>Eusebius</i>	130
48. THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT <i>Origen</i>	132
49. THE ARGUMENT FROM OUR LORD'S MIRACLES <i>do.</i>	132
50. CELSUS ON THE LORD'S RESURRECTION <i>do.</i>	134
51. THE GOSPEL NOT SPECIALLY ADDRESSED TO FOOLS <i>do.</i>	134
51a. THE TRUE GROUND OF OLD TESTAMENT INSPIRATION. <i>do.</i>	136
51b. THE PARABOLIC ELEMENT IN SCRIPTURE NARRATIVES <i>do.</i>	138
52. THE METHOD OF GOD'S DEALING WITH SINNERS <i>do.</i>	140

Contents.

ix

PAGE

53.	PORPHYRY'S OBJECTIONS TO ALLEGORICAL INTERPRE-		
	TATIONS	<i>Eusebius</i>	142
54.	ORIGEN ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE TO THE		
	HEBREWS	<i>do.</i>	142
54a.	A LIBELLUS OF THE DECIAN PERSECUTION		144
55.	DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA ON NOVATIAN	<i>do.</i>	146
56.	THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH	<i>Cyprian</i>	146
57.	ON CHURCH DISCIPLINE	<i>do.</i>	148
58.	APPOINTMENT OF BISHOPS	<i>do.</i>	150
59.	SCHISMATICAL BAPTISM WORTHLESS	<i>do.</i>	152
60.	HERETICAL BAPTISM INVALID	<i>do.</i>	152
61.	FIRMILIAN'S LETTER TO CYPRIAN	<i>do.</i>	154
62.	THE EDICT OF VALERIAN	<i>do.</i>	154
63.	DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF		
	THE APOCALYPSES	<i>Eusebius</i>	156
64.	THE RESCRIPT OF GALLIENUS	<i>do.</i>	160
65.	AURELIAN'S DECISION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF ANTIOCH	<i>do.</i>	160
66.	THE EDICTS OF DIOCLETIAN	<i>do.</i>	162
67.	OUR LORD'S MIRACLES	<i>Arnobius</i>	162
68.	LACTANTIUS CRITICIZING EARLIER APOLOGISTS	<i>Lactantius</i>	164
69.	MISGOVERNMENT OF DIOCLETIAN	<i>do.</i>	164
70.	THE TOLERATION EDICT OF GALERIUS	<i>do.</i>	168
71.	THE EDICT OF MILAN	<i>do.</i>	170
72.	CONSTANTINE'S CROSS	<i>Eusebius</i>	174
73.	NICENE CANONS		176
74.	THE LETTER OF EUSEBIUS	<i>Theodoret</i>	178



INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

CORNELIUS TACITUS (b. *cir.* 54) reached the consulship 97, wrote his *Annales cir.* 115, and died a few years later.

Extract I gives a heathen view of the Neronian persecution. The standpoint is that of a Roman aristocrat, to whom the Christians are detestable enough, but who is too intent on blackening Nero to go far out of his way for them.

Clement of Rome may have been a freedman of the T. Flavius Clemens consul 95, and put to death by his cousin Domitian. He wrote the letter of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth (95 or 96). His so-called Second Epistle is a sermon preached perhaps at Corinth about half a century later.

Extract II is the opening of the letter, with its picture of the Corinthian Church in its past prosperity. In Extract III is a Christian view of the Neronian persecution, and it records the execution of the two great apostles. Extract IV recites that the apostles made arrangements for the orderly government of the Churches, so that the Corinthians have done wrong in turning blameless presbyters out of office.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus (b. 155: governed several provinces: second consulship 229) wrote a history of Rome to his own time in eighty books, of which the last twenty or so are preserved chiefly in the Epitome of Joannes Xiphilinus, a Byzantine writer of the eleventh century.

Extract IVa is our fullest account of Domitian's persecution. It is certain from the evidence of the catacombs that Domitilla was a Christian: and there cannot be very much doubt of the consuls Glabrio and Clement (91 and 95).

Ignatius of Antioch was given to the beasts by Trajan (98-117), but we cannot fix the date more nearly. The seven letters which seem proved genuine were written from Smyrna and Troas on his way to the amphitheatre at Rome.

Extracts V and VI represent two of his most prominent topics. In Extract V we see the stress he lays on the bishop's office, in Extract VI his earnest assertion of the reality of our Lord's humanity. It also glances at a third—his overwrought desire for martyrdom.

The Letter to Diognetus is by an unknown writer, perhaps 130-150. It is the most striking of Christian pamphlets before the *de Incarnatione* of Athanasius; and its powerful language is a strong contrast to the plainer style of Aristides and Justin.

Extract VII begins with his famous picture of Christian life, then points to its contrast with heathenism, and ends with a difficult passage where that contrast is appealed to in proof of Christianity.

The *Didaché* or *Teaching of the Apostles* (published in 1883 by Bishop Bryennius) is also the work of an unknown writer. Its date is uncertain; possibly even in the first century: its place also; possibly the mountains of Peraea. It represents a very early stage of Church government, before the rise of (monarchical) episcopacy.

Extract VIII gives an account of Baptism (earliest mention of affusion: peculiar form of the Lord's Prayer) and of the Lord's Supper (still in the evening). Then come stringent regulations for apostles and prophets (not to stay too long, or to ask for money, or to eat of a special *agapé*: yet not to be tried presumptuously) and for travelling Christians. A prophet desiring to settle down is worthy of his meat. Then directions for Sunday worship (confession before Lord's Supper), and finally instructions to appoint worthy men as bishops and deacons.

C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (62-113) reached the consulship 100, and in the year 111 was sent by Trajan on a special mission to set in order the cities of Bithynia.

Extract IX shows his hesitation in dealing with the Christians. Obstinate offenders, of course, he puts to death: but what was to be done with those who renounced their offence, or had long ago given

it up? Was it good policy to use indiscriminate severity? Trajan answers that convicted offenders must be punished, though they are not to be searched for, and that all suspected persons who renounce Christianity are to be set free.

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia (*cir.* 130), is chiefly known to us from the chapter of Eusebius here given. It will be noted that Eusebius dislikes him for his Millenarianism, and probably does him less than justice.

Extract XIII begins with a statement of Irenaeus, that Papias was a disciple of St. John. Against this Eusebius quotes Papias' preface, in which he seems to distinguish his own informant, the elder John, from the Evangelist. After mentioning sundry marvellous stories, he gives the words of Papias about our two first Gospels. It will be noted (*interpreted*, not *interprets*) that the Hebrew Matthew was out of use in his time. Last of all comes the story of the woman taken in adultery, which may (Ewald) have been the tradition told by Papias in illustration of John viii. 15.

Quadratus was one of the earliest Apologists, if he addressed his work to the Emperor Hadrian (117-138), as Eusebius states.

Extract XIV is the only fragment of it which remains. He seems to be contrasting the lasting results of our Lord's miracles with the passing effects produced by the magicians.

Aristides, the philosopher of Athens, is also said by Eusebius to have presented his *Apology* to Hadrian. The work was lost: but when a Syriac translation was discovered (disc. and ed. by Mr. Rendel Harris, 1891), its inscription pointed to Antoninus Pius (138-161). The Greek in an adapted form was recognized by Professor Robinson in the *Life of Barlaam and Joasaph*, which (as originally pointed out by Prof. Max Müller) is itself a Christian adaptation of a Buddhist romance. Found in the works of John of Damascus (*cir.* 730).

Extract XIVa is a simple account of Christian life, which should be compared with that of the writer to Diognetus.

Justin, the philosopher and martyr (b. *cir.* 100 at Flavia Neapolis, the ancient Shechem), owed his conversion to an old man he met on the seashore, perhaps at Ephesus. He continued to wear the philosopher's cloak, and taught as a philosopher at Rome, where

he was put to death (163-167). The date of his *First Apology* is a difficult question; but the doubt seems to lie between 138 and *cir.* 150. Of his *Dialogue with Trypho*, all that can be said is that it was written later.

Extracts XV-XVII are from the *First Apology*. In Extracts XV and XVI we see his view of heathenism, that though its errors and persecutions are the work of demons, Christ the Reason is still the teacher even of heathens, as many as were willing to live with reason, like Socrates and others. They should be compared with Clement (Extract XXX) and contrasted with Tertullian (Extract XXXIX). The interest of Extract XVII is in the full account given of Baptism, of the Lord's Supper, and of the Sunday morning service as it was held at Rome in his time. The allusion to Gospels will be noted; also the parallel with the *Didaché* (Extract VIII).

Extracts XVIII and XIX, from the *Dialogue with Trypho*, are discussions of some of the chief Messianic prophecies which used to be quoted against the Jews.

Dionysius was bishop of Corinth about 170. Eusebius gives us a general account of his numerous letters, and quotes the two passages here selected.

Extract XX is from his answer to Soter, bishop of Rome, and gives an interesting testimony to the early influence of the Church (not the bishop) of Rome, to the liturgical use of the Epistle of Clement, and to the corruption by some of Scriptures which Dionysius plainly counts canonical. Extract X may be from the same letter, and is the earliest direct assertion of Peter's visit to Rome. That of Caius, just before it, seems to be rather later.

The *Letter* of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne gives an account of the persecution in Gaul in the days of Marcus Aurelius (177). Its simple words are best left to speak for themselves.

Attention may be called to a few points. (1) Intercourse between the Rhone district and the East: frequency of Greek names. (2) Persecution partly from the mob, partly official, and includes the searching forbidden (Extract IX) by Trajan. (3) Blandina, a slave-girl—one of Clement's *παιδίσκαι* (Extract III).

The Fragment on the Canon published by Muratori in 1740 is commonly ascribed to a younger contemporary of Pius of Rome, so that its date will be *cir.* 170. It was written in Greek, and at Rome, and may be as late as 200 or even later.

It is given complete in Extract XXII, so that its fragmentary character will easily be seen, especially near the end.

Irenaeus (b. in Asia 120-130) was a disciple of Polycarp and of others who had seen St. John. He settled for some time in Rome, and finally succeeded Pothinus as bishop of Lyons in 177. His great work against the Gnostics was written in the next decade. The original is in great part lost; but we have it complete in an old Latin translation.

Extract XIXa (chiefly from Irenaeus) gives his account of the Encratites, and of Tatian in particular. Extract XXIII sums up his account of the origin of the Gospels, and gives his view of the Apocalypse (Domitianic date) and of some uncanonical books. Extract XXV is a fragment of a letter to his old friend Florinus, who had taken up Gnostic opinions, and in it he tells us of his teacher Polycarp. Extract XXVII is his account of Marcion: the Greek is partly preserved by Eusebius, *H.E.* iv. 11. Extract XXVIII gives his argument from Tradition, which must be carefully distinguished from Tertullian's. It speaks also of the pre-eminence of the Roman Church, and gives a further account of Polycarp. Extract XXIX is a tradition 'of the Elders,' which probably comes from the Commentary of Papias.

Polycrates of Ephesus is hardly known to us except from this Extract XXVI, which is his answer to Victor of Rome *cir.* 196. He defends his Quartodeciman Easter by the example of St. John, and of the apostle Philip (compare Extract XIII).

Titus Flavius Clemens (b. *cir.* 150) studied philosophy under sundry teachers before he came to rest in Christianity. He succeeded Pantaenus as head of the catechetical school at Alexandria, but left the city (*cir.* 202) during the persecution of Severus. We find him some years later in Cilicia or Cappadocia; and he seems to have been dead *cir.* 216.

Extract XXX gives his view of the double preparation of the

world for Christ—the Jews by the law, the Gentiles by philosophy. Extracts XXXI and XXXII show his relation to the Gnostics, and his conception of the ideal Christian character. Extract XXXIII opens out the whole question of the mode of interpreting Scripture, which the school of Alexandria did so much to clear up.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (b. *cir.* 155 at Carthage) was the son of a centurion, and practised as a lawyer. He was converted to Christianity before 197, and became presbyter at Carthage. Between 202 and 207 he joined the Montanists, and died as one of them *cir.* 225.

Extracts XXXIV–XXXVIII are taken from his *Apology*. Extract XXXIV is a review of the persecutions, coloured by Christian unwillingness to believe that good emperors really did persecute. Extract XXXV is the rough sketch of his treatise *de Testimonio animae naturaliter Christianae*—the proof of Christianity from its correspondence with the nature of man. In Extract XXXVI (compare Extract XXXVIII) the empire is presented as the restraining power which delays the end of the world. Extract XXXVII is his famous boast of the numbers of the Christians; which, however, he gives not as a proof of Christianity; only as a reason for toleration. Extract XXXVIII is a general account of the Christian assemblies like Justin's (Extract XVII), but specially contrasts them with the disorderly heathen clubs. Extract XXXVIIIa shows us the development of the ceremonial of Baptism since Justin's time; the Lord's Supper (now in the morning and called *sacramentum*) upon occasion including a commemoration of the dead, and of martyrs on the day of their passion ('birth'). Prayer *standing* on Sundays and after Easter (as Canon 3 of Nicaea, Extract LXXIII). Care of common food, not the elements, and constant sign of the cross.

The next three Extracts (XXXIX–XLI) are from his 'most plausible and most mischievous book' (Hort) *de Praescriptionibus*. Extract XXXIX is to show that heretics deal with philosophical questions and borrow the answers of the philosophers. In Extract XL we have his argument from Tradition. As we cannot confute heretics by Scripture, we refuse to meet them on that ground, and

simply answer that Churches once founded by the apostles must necessarily be still the possessors of the truth—an argument as good for Leo XIII as it ever was for Pope Victor. Extract XLI is a satirical account of the disorderly worship of heretics, probably Marcionites.

Extract XLII comments on the 'edict' (as if he were a magistrate) of Callistus (note ironical titles) which offered pardon (on penance) to some gross offenders, and (according to Montanists) made the Church a partaker of their sin. Extract XLIII is a vivid picture of the difficulties of Christian life in heathen society. Extract XLIV is another Montanist complaint, that Praxeas was not only unsound in the faith, but had persuaded the bishop of Rome (Victor or Zephyrinus) to revoke his sanction of Montanist prophecy. In Extract XLV Tertullian gives his objections to infant Baptism—prudential objections, for he has no idea of any apostolic command on the other side.

Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenaeus, and a bishop—of what city, Eusebius did not know. According to some, he was bishop of Portus or of the foreigners in Portus; but more likely he claimed to be bishop of Rome in opposition to Callistus. In 235 he was exiled to Sardinia, and seems to have died there. Book I of his great work *Against all Heresies* was ascribed to Origen, till the discovery in 1842 of Books IV–X in a MS. on Mount Athos.

Extract XXIV gives his account of the Montanists and their prophetesses. Extract XLVI is a difficult passage, but its chief burden is the change made by Callistus in Church law, by recognizing unequal marriages which the State did not.

Origenes Adamantius (b. 185 or 186) was the son of Christian parents at Alexandria. His father Leonides was put to death in the persecution of Severus (202), and Origen soon afterwards (aged 18) succeeded Clement as head of the catechetical school. There he laboured with splendid success for nearly thirty years, till his ordination (231) in Palestine (with other causes) gave offence to Demetrius of Alexandria. Origen betook himself to Caesarea, and laboured there. He was tortured in the Decian persecution, and died of the effects *cir.* 254.

Extract XLVII (from Eusebius) shows Origen's wide conception of a liberal education. Extract XLVIII gives some idea of his principle of interpretation, that every passage of Scripture has a spiritual meaning, commonly more important than the literal; and in Extract LIII we have the answer of Porphyry from the heathen side, that allegorical interpretations are a mere subterfuge. Extracts XLIX-LI are taken from Origen's answer to Celsus. In Extract XLIX the heathen replies to our Lord's miracles, that they were done by magic; and indeed the mediums and spiritualists of this time were as skilful as our own. In Extract L Celsus disputes the evidence of our Lord's resurrection quite in the style of Renan or *Supernatural Religion*. In Extract LI comes Origen's answer to the charge that the Gospel is only meant for fools. Extracts LIa and LIb are intended to show the *modern* character of Origen's opinions on the inspiration and interpretation of Scripture. Extract LII is given as a sample of Origen's width of view and tendency to Universalism. In Extract LIV we have his conclusions on the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Extract LIVa is one of the certificates given to Christians who sacrificed in the Decian persecution. It shows how systematic the procedure was.

Dionysius of Alexandria was a disciple of Origen. He succeeded Heracles in 232 as head of the catechetical school, and again (247-8) as bishop. He went into hiding, like Cyprian, in the persecution of Decius (249-251), but in that of Valerian (257) escaped with exile. He returned (260) under Gallienus, and died in 265. We have only fragments of his works, mostly preserved by Eusebius.

Extract LV is intended to give a general view of the controversy with Novatian. In Extract LXIII his discussion of the authorship of the Apocalypse is a piece of criticism unsurpassed in ancient times.

Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, b. *cir.* 200; teacher of rhetoric in Carthage; converted by presbyter Caecilius; very soon bishop of Carthage (*cir.* 248); went into hiding during the Decian persecution (249-251); executed in that of Valerian (258).

Extract LVI states Cyprian's theory of the Church, and his doctrine that there is no salvation outside it. Extract LVII gives his

position against Novatus and against the confessors who misused their power of intercession for offenders. Extract LVIII shows the method of appointing bishops, and glances at his parallel of the Christian ministry with the Jewish priesthood. In Extracts LIX and LX we have his position against Stephen of Rome, that heretical or schismatical Baptism is worthless. Extract LXI is from Firmilian of Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian against Stephen. He makes short work of Roman claims. Note one of the first references to 2 Peter. Extract LXII is Cyprian's report of Valerian's Edict. It should be compared with Diocletian's in Extract LXVI.

Arnobius was a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, and a recent convert when he wrote his *Adversus Nationes*, apparently during the persecution of Diocletian, which began in 303.

Extract LXVII is from his discussion of our Lord's miracles, and may be taken as a reply to the argument of Celsus (Extract XLIX) that they were works of magic.

L. Caelius Firmianus Lactantius (b. *cir.* 260 in Africa) was a disciple of Arnobius, and became Professor of Rhetoric at Nicomedia *cir.* 290, but had to lay down his office when the persecution broke out. He is said to have settled afterwards in Gaul, and become tutor to Constantine's son Crispus.

Extract LXVIII is from his chief work, the *Divinae Institutiones*, and gives his criticism of his predecessors, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian. The other extracts are taken from his bitter pamphlet *de Mortibus Persecutorum*. Extract LXIX is a hostile and unfair account of Diocletian's government. Extract LXX is the first edict of grudging toleration, issued by Galerius from his deathbed in the spring of 311, while Extract LXXI is part of the more liberal Edict of Milan, issued by Constantine and Licinius about November, 312.

Eusebius (b. *cir.* 265) was presbyter and (from soon after 313) bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. The most learned man of his time. His *Ecclesiastical History* contains carefully selected quotations from some fifty different authors. At Nicene Council 325; wrote his *Life of Constantine* after the emperor's death in 337, and himself died 339.

We have taken about twenty extracts from Eusebius, and discussed many of them already. There remain :—

Extracts XI and XII together give us a fair view of the Canon of the New Testament as acknowledged by Eusebius. He recognizes certain doubts about five Catholic Epistles, and himself leans against the Apocalypse : otherwise it is the same as our own. In Extract XI it must be noted that Eusebius does not undertake to tell us of writers who used undisputed books. In Extract XII the word *spurious* refers not so much to the question of authorship as to that of canonicity.

Extract LXIV is the rescript of Gallienus (260–268) extending to Egypt the toleration he had already established in quieter parts of the empire. In Extract LXV is the first application to an emperor to settle a Church dispute—Aurelian's test of orthodoxy is communion with the bishops of Italy and Rome. Extract LXVI gives the first three edicts of Diocletian. New lines of policy in the demolition of the Churches and the burnings of the Scriptures : special measures against the clergy since Maximin (235–238). Extract LXXII is the famous story of Constantine's cross, as told to Eusebius by the emperor himself. The event took place as he was marching against Maxentius in 312. Extract LXXIV is the letter of Eusebius to his people at Caesarea, in which he relates the proceedings of the Nicene Council, and tells them how he overcame his objections to the Creed. The heterodox passage in brackets is omitted by Socrates.

The Council of Nicaea issued twenty canons, of which Extract LXXIII contains five in whole or part.

Canon 6 (prefaced by a notorious Roman forgery) settles the affairs of Egypt. Canon 19 orders the rebaptism of the followers of Paul of Samosata : which the Church of Rome construed as implying that ordinary heretics were *not* to be baptized. Canon 3 deals with a gross scandal of the time. The interest of Canon 17 and Canon 20 is their difference from modern ideas. Canon 17 forbids the clergy to lend at interest, and Canon 20 forbids the faithful to kneel in prayer on Sundays or between Easter and Pentecost.

SELECTIONS
FROM
EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS

I.

ERGO abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum
 5 supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, inde indicio eorum
 10 multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contacti, laniatu canum interirent aut crucibus adfixi, aut flammandi, atque¹ ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos
 15 ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. Unde quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.

TACITUS, *Ann.* xv. 44.

II.

20 Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας² ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, ἀδελφοί, βράδιον νομίζομεν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιῆσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητούμενων παρ' ὑμῖν

¹ adfixi, aut flammandi, atque] *adfixi sunt flammandi, utque* Franklin Arnold.

² . . . ενας A; γενομένας CL; γινομένας S.

The Neronian Persecution (Tacitus).

So to stifle the report, Nero put in his own place as culprits and punished with every refinement of cruelty the men whom the common people hated for their secret crimes. They called them Christians. Christ, from whom the name was given, had been put to death in the reign of 5 Tiberius by the procurator Pontius Pilate, and the pestilent superstition checked for awhile. Afterwards it began to break out afresh, not only in Judaea, where the mischief first arose, but also at Rome, where all sorts of murder and filthy shame meet together and become 10 fashionable. In the first place then some were seized and made to confess; then on their information a vast multitude was convicted not so much of arson as of hatred for the human race. And they were not only put to death, but put to death with insult, in that they were either 15 dressed up in the skins of beasts to perish by the worrying of dogs or else put on crosses to be set on fire, and when the daylight failed, to be burnt for use as lights by night. Nero had thrown open his gardens for that spectacle, and was giving a circus exhibition, mingling with the people 20 in a jockey's dress, or driving a chariot. Hence commiseration arose, though it was for men of the worst character and deserving of the severest punishment, on the ground that they were not destroyed for the good of the state, but to satisfy the cruelty of an individual. 25

Opening of Clement's Letter to the Corinthians.

By reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which are befalling us, brethren, we consider that we have been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the

πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοί, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς
 ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μιὰς καὶ ἀνοσίου στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα
 πρόσωπα προπετῇ καὶ αὐθάδῃ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον
 ἀπονοίας ἐξέκαυσαν, ὥστε τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ
 5 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλως
 βλασφημηθῆναι. τίς γὰρ παρεπιδημήσας πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαίαν ὑμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἐδοκίμασεν;
 τὴν τε σώφρονα καὶ ἐπιεικῇ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν οὐκ
 ἐθαύμασεν; καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν
 10 ἦθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν; καὶ τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ γνῶσιν
 οὐκ ἐμακάρισεν; ἀπροσωπολήμπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποίειτε,
 καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις¹ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι
 τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέ-
 μοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ
 15 σεμνὰ νοεῖν ἐπετρέπετε· γυναιξὶν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ
 καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε,
 στεργοῦσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἀνδρας ἑαυτῶν· ἐν τε τῷ
 κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον
 σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν ἐδιδάσκετε, πάνυ σωφρονούσας.

CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Ad Cor. i.*

III.

20 'Αλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων παυσώμεθα,
 ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς· λάβωμεν
 τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. διὰ ζῆλον καὶ
 φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στύλοι ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ
 ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν. λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν
 25 τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους· Πέτρον, ὃς διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον
 οὐχ ἓνα οὐδὲ δύο ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόνους, καὶ
 οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς
 δόξης. διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ἔριν Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον

¹ τοῖς νομίμοις] Clem. Alex.; τοῖς νόμοις AC; in lege S.

matters of dispute that have arisen among you, dearly beloved, and to the detestable and unholy sedition, so alien and strange to the elect of God, which a few headstrong and self-willed persons have kindled to such a pitch of madness that your name, once revered and renowned and lovely in the sight of all men, hath been greatly reviled. For who that had sojourned among you did not approve your most virtuous and steadfast faith? Who did not admire your sober and forbearing piety in Christ? Who did not publish abroad your magnificent disposition of hospitality? Who did not congratulate you on your perfect and sound knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and ye walked after the ordinances of God, submitting yourselves to your rulers and rendering to the older men among you the honour which is their due. On the young too ye enjoined modest and seemly thoughts: and the women ye charged to perform all their duties in a blameless and seemly and pure conscience, cherishing their own husbands, as is meet; and ye taught them to keep in the rule of obedience, and to manage the affairs of their household in seemliness, with all discretion.

L.

The Neronian Persecution (Clement).

BUT, to pass from the examples of ancient days, let us come to those champions who lived nearest to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. There was Peter who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife Paul by his example pointed out the prize of

ὑπέδειξεν, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθείς, λιθασ-
θείς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει,
τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην
διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως
5 ἔλθων· καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλ-
λάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη,
ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις συνη-
θροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις
10 καὶ βασάνοις, διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες, ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον
ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες, Δανα-
ῖδες καὶ Δίρκαι¹, αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια παθοῦσαι,
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήντησαν καὶ
ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι.

Ibid. v, vi.

IV.

15 Προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων, καὶ ἐγκεκυφότες
εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνώσεως, πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν
ὀφείλομεν ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν κατὰ
καιροὺς τεταγμένους· τὰς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας
ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἢ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν
20 γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις· ποῦ τε καὶ
διὰ τίνων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει, αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑπερτάτῳ
αὐτοῦ βουλήσει· ἵν' ὁσίως πάντα γινόμενα ἐν εὐδοκῇσει
εὐπρόσδεκτα εἴη τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· οἱ οὖν τοῖς προσ-
τεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιῶντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν εὐ-
25 πρόσδεκτοί τε καὶ μακάριοι, τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότητος
ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν. τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι
λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσίν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος

¹ Δαναῖδες καὶ Δίρκαι] ACS; νεάνιδες παιδίσκαι coni. Wordsworth.

patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached 5 the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance.

Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multi- 10 tude of the elect, who through many indignities and tortures, being the victims of jealousy, set a brave example among ourselves. By reason of jealousy women being persecuted after they had suffered cruel and unholy insults as Danaids and Dircae, safely reached the goal in 15 the race of faith, and received a noble reward, feeble though they were in body.

L.

Arrangements settled by the Apostles.

FORASMUCH then as these things are manifest before-hand, and we have searched into the depths of the Divine knowledge, we ought to do all things in order, as many as 20 the Master hath commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons. Now the offerings and ministrations He commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And where and by whom He would have them performed, 25 He Himself fixed by His supreme will: that all things being done with piety according to His good pleasure might be acceptable to His will. They therefore that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed: for while they follow the institutions of 30 the Master they cannot go wrong. For unto the high-priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the

προστέτακται, καὶ λευῖταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.

Ἐκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστεῖτω Θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὁρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι. οὐ πανταχοῦ, ἀδελφοί, προσφέρονται θυσίαι ἐνδεδουλωμένου ἢ εὐχῶν ἢ περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ πλημμελείας, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μόνῃ· κακεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσφέρεται, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστή-
 10-ριον, μωμοσκοπηθὲν τὸ προσφερόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν προειρημένων λειτουργῶν. οἱ οὖν παρὰ τὸ καθήκον τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτοῦ ποιούντες τι θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον ἔχουσιν. ὁρᾶτε, ἀδελφοί, ὅσῳ πλείονος κατηξιώθημεν γνώσεως, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὑποκείμεθα κινδύνῳ.

Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν εὐηγγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου
 15 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξεπέμφθη. ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφότερα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ. παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες καὶ
 20 πληροφορηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πιστωθέντες ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐξηλθον, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς
 25 αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς, ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγγράπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων· οὕτως γὰρ πού λέγει ἡ γραφή· Καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους
 30 αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει.

* * * * *

Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι ἕρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς

levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances.

Let each of you, brethren, in his own order give thanks unto God, maintaining a good conscience and not transgressing the appointed rule of His service, but acting with all seemliness. Not in every place, brethren, are the continual daily sacrifices offered, or the freewill offerings, or the sin offerings and the trespass offerings, but in Jerusalem alone. And even there the offering is not made in every place, but before the sanctuary in the court of the altar; and this too through the high-priest and the aforesaid ministers, after that the victim to be offered hath been inspected for blemishes. They therefore who do any thing contrary to the seemly ordinance of His will receive death as the penalty. Ye see, brethren, in proportion as greater knowledge hath been vouchsafed unto us, so much the more are we exposed to danger.

The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the glad tidings that the kingdom of God should come. So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion; for indeed it had been written concerning bishops and deacons from very ancient times; for thus saith the scripture in a certain place, I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith.

* * * * *

And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's

ἐπισκοπῆς. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰλη-
 φότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ
 ἐπιμονὴν¹ δεδώκασιν ὅπως, ἂν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται
 ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.
 5 τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἐτέρων
 ἑλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης,
 καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρ-
 τυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους οὐ
 10 δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβάλλεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας. ἀμαρ-
 τία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἂν τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ
 ὁσίως προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπο-
 βάλωμεν. μακάριοι οἱ προοδοιπορήσαντες πρεσβύτεροι,
 οἵτινες ἔγκαρπον καὶ τελείαν ἔσχον τὴν ἀνάλυσιν· οὐ γὰρ
 15 εὐλαβούνται μή τις αὐτοὺς μεταστήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυμένου
 αὐτοῖς τόπου. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε
 καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης
 λειτουργίας.

Ibid. xl-xlii, xliv.

IV A.

Κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Φλαοῦιον
 20 Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα καὶ γυναιῖκα
 καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενὴ ἑαυτοῦ Φλαοῦιαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα,
 κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἐγκλημα
 ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθῃ
 ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέ-
 25 θανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γούν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν· ἡ δὲ
 Δομιτίλλα ὑπερωρέσθη μόνον ἐς Πανδατερίαν. τὸν δὲ
 δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραιανοῦ ἄρξαντα, κατη-
 γορηθέντα τά τε ἄλλα καὶ οἶα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅτι θηρίοις
 ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν.

DIO CASSIUS, *Epitome*, lxvii. 14.

¹ ἐπιμονὴν] conl. Turner; ἐπινομήν A; ἐπιδομήν C; super probatione
 [ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ] S.

office. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed 5 by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider 10 to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe: 15 for they have no fear lest any one should remove them from their appointed place. For we see that ye have displaced certain persons, though they were living honourably, from the ministration which had been respected by them blamelessly.

20

L.

The Persecution of Domitian.

AND in the same year Domitian slew amongst many others Flavius Clemens in his consulship, though he was his cousin and had to wife his own kinswoman, Flavia Domitilla. Against them both was brought a charge of atheism: and on this many others who made shipwreck 25 on Jewish customs were condemned, of whom some were put to death, while others were at the least deprived of their property; but Domitilla was only banished to Pandateria. Glabrio, however, who had been consul with Trajan, he also slew, partly on the same charges as the 30 rest, and partly because he fought with beasts.

V.

Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 τῷ πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς
 δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν. μηδεὶς χωρὶς
 ἐπισκόπου τι πρᾶσσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-
 5 σίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν
 ἐπίσκοπον οὔσα, ἣ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. ὅπου ἂν
 φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν
 ᾗ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. οὐκ ἐξόν
 ἐστὶν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην
 10 ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκείνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ
 εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾗ καὶ βέβαιον πάν ὁ πράσσετε.

IGNATIUS, *Ad Smyrn.* viii.

VI.

Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλῇ
 τις, τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας, ὃς ἀληθῶς
 ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέ τε καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ
 15 Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν,
 βλεπόντων [τῶν] ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ ὑποχθονίων·
 ὃς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν
 τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς
 πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ
 20 Ἰησοῦ, οὗ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν οὐκ ἔχομεν.

Εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ τινες ἄθεοι ὄντες, τουτέστιν ἄπιστοι,
 λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, αὐτοὶ ὄντες τὸ
 δοκεῖν, ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι; τί δὲ καὶ εὐχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι;
 ὠρεᾶν οὖν ἀποθνήσκω. ἄρα οὖν καταψεύδομαι τοῦ Κυρίου.

Ibid. ix, x.

VII.

25 Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ οὔτε φωνῇ οὔτε ἔθεσι δια-
 κекριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων. οὔτε γάρ που
 πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγ-

Ignatius on Episcopacy.

Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid eucharist 5 which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus Christ may be, there is the universal Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast; but 10 whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid.

L.

Ignatius on Docetism.

BE ye deaf therefore, when any man speaketh to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the Son of Mary, who was truly born and ate 15 and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth; who moreover was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised Him, who in the like fashion will so raise us also 20 who believe on Him—His Father, I say, will raise us—in Christ Jesus, apart from whom we have not true life.

But if it were as certain persons who are godless, that is unbelievers, say, that He suffered only in semblance, being themselves mere semblance, why am I in bonds? 25 And why also do I desire to fight with wild beasts? So I die in vain. Truly then I lie against the Lord.

L.

The Christians in the World.

FOR Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind either in locality or in speech or in customs. For they dwell not somewhere in cities of their own, 30 neither do they use some different language, nor practise

μένη χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον ἀσχοῦσιν. οὐ μὴν
 ἐπινοία τινὶ καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα
 τοιοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐρημένον, οὐδὲ δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου
 προεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. κατοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις Ἑλλη-
 5 νίδας τε καὶ βαρβάρους ὥς ἕκαστος ἐκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς
 ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες ἓν τε ἔσθητι καὶ
 διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ, θαυμαστὴν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως
 παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν
 πολιτείας. πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὥς πάροικοι
 10 μετέχουσι πάντων ὥς πολῖται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν
 ὥς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα
 πατρίς ξένη. γαμοῦσιν ὥς πάντες, τεκνογονοῦσιν· ἀλλ'
 οὐ ρίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα. τράπεζαν κοινὴν παρατί-
 θενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοίτην. ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ
 15 κατὰ σαρκὰ ζῶσιν. ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρα-
 νῷ πολιτεύονται. πείθονται τοῖς ὀρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ
 τοῖς ἰδίῳ βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους. ἀγαπῶσι πάντας
 καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται. ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατακρί-
 νονται· θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται. πτωχεύουσι, καὶ
 20 πλουτίζουν· πολλοὺς· πάντων ὑστεροῦνται, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι
 περισσεύουσιν. ἀτιμῶνται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀτιμίαις δοξά-
 ζονται· βλασφημοῦνται, καὶ δικαιοῦνται. λοιδοροῦνται,
 καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν· ὑβρίζοντα καὶ τιμῶσιν. ἀγαθοποιοῦντες
 ὥς κακοὶ κολάζονται· κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν ὥς ζωοποιού-
 25 μενοι. ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὥς ἀλλόφυλοι πολεμοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ
 Ἑλλήνων διώκονται· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας εἰπεῖν
 οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

Ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχῇ, τοῦτ'
 εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. ἔσπαρται κατὰ πάντων
 30 τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἡ ψυχῇ, καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ
 τὰς τοῦ κόσμου πόλεις. οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι ψυχῇ,
 οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ
 οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. ἀόρατος ἡ ψυχῇ
 ἐν ὁρατῷ φρουρεῖται τῷ σώματι· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γινώ-
 35 σκονται μὲν ὄντες ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀόρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ θεο-

an extraordinary kind of life. Nor again do they possess any invention discovered by any intelligence or study of ingenious men, nor are they masters of any human dogma as some are. But while they dwell in cities of Greeks and barbarians as the lot of each is cast, and follow the native 5 customs in dress and food and the other arrangements of life, yet the constitution of their own citizenship, which they set forth, is marvellous, and confessedly contradicts expectation. They dwell in their own countries, but only as sojourners; they bear their share in all things as 10 citizens, and they endure all hardships as strangers. Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every fatherland is foreign. They marry like all other men and they beget children; but they do not cast away their offspring. They have their meals in common, but not 15 their wives. They find themselves in the flesh, and yet they live not after the flesh. Their existence is on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven. They obey the established laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives. They love all men, and they are persecuted by all. They 20 are ignored, and yet they are condemned. They are put to death, and yet they are endued with life. They are in beggary, and yet they make many rich. They are in want of all things, and yet they abound in all things. They are dishonoured, and yet they are glorified in their dishonour. 25 They are evil spoken of, and yet they are vindicated. They are reviled, and they bless; they are insulted, and they respect. Doing good they are punished as evil-doers; being punished they rejoice, as if they were thereby quickened by life. War is waged against them 30 as aliens by the Jews, and persecution is carried on against them by the Greeks, and yet those that hate them cannot tell the reason of their hostility.

In a word, what the soul is in a body, this the Christians are in the world. The soul is spread through all 35 the members of the body, and Christians through the divers cities of the world. The soul hath its abode in the body, and yet it is not of the body. So Christians have their abode in the world, and yet they are not of the world. The soul which is invisible is guarded in the 40 body which is visible: so Christians are recognised as being in the world, and yet their religion remaineth

σέβεια μένει. μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ σὰρξ καὶ πολεμεῖ
 μηδὲν ἀδικουμένη, διότι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κωλύεται χρῆσθαι·
 μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι
 ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται. ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μισοῦσαν
 5 ἀγαπᾷ σάρκα καὶ τὰ μέλη· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦν-
 τας ἀγαπῶσιν. ἐγκέκλεισται μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι,
 συνέχει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται
 μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν
 κόσμον. ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν θνητῷ σκηνώματι κατοικεῖ·
 10 καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς
 ἀφθαρσίαν προσδεχόμενοι. κακουργουμένη σιτίοις καὶ
 ποτοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ βελτιοῦται· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κολαζόμενοι
 καθ' ἡμέραν πλεονάζουσι μᾶλλον. εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτοὺς
 τάξιν ἔθετο ὁ Θεός, ἣν οὐ θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς παραιτήσασθαι.
 15 Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὖρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρ-
 εδόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιούσιν
 ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίσ-
 τευνται. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παν-
 τοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος Θεός, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν
 20 ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, οὐ
 καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν ἄνθρωπος, ὑπηρέτην τινα πέμψας
 ἢ ἄγγελον ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ
 τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ'
 25 αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ᾧ τοὺς
 οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ᾧ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίῳ ὄρῳ ἐνέκλεισεν,
 οὗ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα,
 παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων [ἥλιος] εἴληφε
 φυλάσσειν, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι,

invisible. The flesh hateth the soul and wargeth war with it, though it receiveth no wrong, because it is forbidden to indulge in pleasures; so the world hateth Christians, though it receiveth no wrong from them, because they set themselves against its pleasures. The 5 soul loveth the flesh which hateth it, and the members: so Christians love those that hate them. The soul is enclosed in the body, and yet itself holdeth the body together; so Christians are kept in the world as in a prison-house, and yet they themselves hold the world 10 together. The soul though itself immortal dwelleth in a mortal tabernacle; so Christians sojourn amidst perishable things, while they look for the imperishability which is in the heavens. The soul when hardly treated in the matter of meats and drinks is improved; and so Christians 15 when punished increase more and more daily. So great is the office for which God hath appointed them, and which it is not lawful for them to decline.

For it is no earthly discovery, as I said, which was committed to them, neither do they care to guard so care- 20 fully any mortal invention, nor have they entrusted to them the dispensation of human mysteries. But truly the Almighty Creator of the Universe, the Invisible God Himself from heaven planted among men the truth and the holy teaching which surpasseth the wit of man, and 25 fixed it firmly in their hearts, not as any man might imagine, by sending (to mankind) a subaltern, or angel, or ruler, or one of those that direct the affairs of earth, or one of those who have been entrusted with the dispensations in heaven, but the very Artificer and Creator of the 30 Universe Himself, by Whom He made the heavens, by Whom He enclosed the sea in its proper bounds, Whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe from Whom [the sun] hath received even the measure of the courses of the day to keep them, Whom the moon obeys as He bids 35

ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστροι τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα
 δρόμῳ, ᾧ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέ-
 τανται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν γῇ,
 θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ
 5 ἐν ὕψει, τὰ ἐν βάθει, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ· τοῦτον πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν. ἄρα γε, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν τις
 λογίσαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει;
 οὐμενοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ [καὶ] πραύτητι ὡς βασιλεὺς
 πέμπων υἱὸν βασιλέα ἔπεμψεν, ὡς Θεὸν ἔπεμψεν, ὡς
 10 [ἄνθρωπον] πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔπεμψεν, ὡς σώζων ἔπεμψεν,
 ὡς πείθων, οὐ βιαζόμενος· βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ Θεῷ.
 ἔπεμψεν ὡς καλῶν, οὐ διώκων· ἔπεμψεν ὡς ἀγαπῶν,
 οὐ κρίνων. πέμψει γὰρ αὐτὸν κρίνοντα, καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ
 τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται; [οὐχ ὁρᾷς] παρα-
 15 βαλλομένους θηρίοις, ἵνα ἀρνήσωνται τὸν Κύριον, καὶ μὴ
 νικωμένους; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσῳ πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσοῦτον
 πλεονάζοντας ἄλλους; ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ
 ἔργα, ταῦτα δύνამις ἐστὶ Θεοῦ· ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας
 αὐτοῦ δείγματα.

AUCT. *Ad Diognetum*, 5-7.

VIII.

20 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα
 πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς
 καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.
 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον·
 εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. εἰ δὲ ἀμφό-
 25 τερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρεῖς ὕδωρ εἰς
 ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. πρὸ δὲ
 τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπ-
 τιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι δύνανται. κελεύεις δὲ
 νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.
 30 Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν·

her shine by night, Whom the stars obey as they follow the course of the moon, by Whom all things are ordered and bounded and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and the things that are in the earth, the sea and the things that 5 are in the sea, fire, air, abyss, the things that are in the heights, the things that are in the depths, the things that are between the two. Him He sent unto them. Was He sent, think you, as any man might suppose, to establish a sovereignty, to inspire fear and terror? Not so. 10 But in gentleness [and] meekness has He sent Him, as a king might send his son who is a king. He sent Him, as sending God; He sent Him, as [a man] unto men; He sent Him, as Saviour, as using persuasion, not force: for force is no attribute of God. He sent Him, as summon- 15 ing, not as persecuting; He sent Him, as loving, not as judging. For He will send Him in judgement, and who shall endure His presence? . . . [Dost thou not see] them thrown to wild beasts that so they may deny the Lord, and yet not overcome? Dost thou not see that the more 20 of them are punished, just so many others abound? These look not like the works of a man; they are the power of God; they are proofs of His presence.

L.

Church order of the Didaché.

BUT concerning baptism, thus shall ye baptize. Having first recited all these things, baptize in the name of the 25 Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in living (running) water. But if thou hast not living water, then baptize in other water, and if thou art not able in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, then pour water on the head thrice in the name of the Father and of the 30 Son and of the Holy Spirit. But before the baptism let him that baptizeth and him that is baptized fast, and any others also who are able; and thou shalt order him that is baptized to fast a day or two before.

And let not your fastings be with the hypocrites, for 35

νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς
 δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. μηδὲ προσ-
 εύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν
 τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως προσεύχεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν
 5 ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ
 βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ
 ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον,
 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν
 τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασ-
 10 μόν, ἀλλὰ ρύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ
 δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας
 οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτω εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον
 περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν,
 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς
 ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν
 σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς
 ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα
 20 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορ-
 πισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν,
 οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς
 γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ
 δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. μηδεὶς δὲ
 25 φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ
 βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου
 εἶρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·
 Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός
 30 σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας
 ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας. σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα

they fast on the second and the fifth day of the week ; but do ye keep your fast on the fourth and on the preparation (the sixth) day. Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, thus pray ye : Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name ; Thy 5 kingdom come ; Thy will be done, as in heaven, so also on earth ; give us this day our daily bread ; and forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors ; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the Evil One ; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever. 10 Three times in the day pray ye so.

But, as touching the eucharistic thanksgiving, give ye thanks thus. First, as regards the cup : We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of Thy son David, which Thou madest known unto us through Thy Son 15 Jesus ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Then as regards the broken bread : We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou didst make known unto us through Thy Son Jesus ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. As this broken bread was 20 scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom ; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever and ever. But let no one eat or drink of this eucharistic 25 thanksgiving, but they that have been baptized into the name of the Lord ; for concerning this also the Lord hath said : Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

And after ye are satisfied thus give ye thanks : We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy holy name, 30 which Thou hast made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son Jesus ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for Thy name's sake, and didst 35

ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν,
 ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν
 αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαρισ-
 5 τοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ σύ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι
 αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ
 ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων,
 τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας
 10 αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας. ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.
 ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυεὶδ. εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω·
 εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστί, μετανοεῖτω. μαρὰν ἀθά. ἀμήν. τοῖς
 δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.
 15 Ὡς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρη-
 μένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς
 διδασκῇ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ
 ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν
 Κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπο-
 20 στόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
 οὕτως ποιήσατε. πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἡμέραν
 μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ᾗ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν
 μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος
 25 μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν
 δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. καὶ πάντα
 προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ δια-
 κρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἀμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ
 ἀμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν
 30 πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους
 Κυρίου. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδο-
 προφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων

give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks to Thee ; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son. Before all things we give Thee thanks that Thou art powerful ; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Re- 5 member, Lord, Thy Church to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in Thy love ; and gather it together from the four winds—even the Church which has been sanctified—into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it ; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever. May 10 grace come and may this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any man is holy, let him come ; if any man is not, let him repent. Maran Atha. Amen.

But permit the prophets to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire. 15

Whosoever therefore shall come and teach you all these things that have been said before, receive him ; but if the teacher himself be perverted and teach a different doctrine to the destruction thereof, hear him not ; but if to the increase of righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord, 20 receive him as the Lord.

But concerning the apostles and prophets, so do ye according to the ordinance of the Gospel. Let every apostle, when he cometh to you, be received as the Lord ; but he shall not abide more than a single day, or if there 25 be need, a second likewise ; but if he abide three days, he is a false prophet. And when he departeth let the apostle receive nothing save bread, until he findeth shelter ; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And any prophet speaking in the Spirit ye shall not try neither 30 discern ; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. Yet not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord. From his ways therefore the false prophet and the prophet shall be recognized. And no prophet when 35

τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ μήγε, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινὸς ποιῶν εἰς
 5 μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται. ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι· Δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἑτέρα τίνα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων
 10 ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε. σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς
 15 ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ᾗ ἀνάγκη. εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται Χριστιανός. εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός
 20 ἐστίν· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιός ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτός, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης, τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ
 25 καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. ἐὰν σιτία ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας τὴν
 30 ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν, ὥς ἂν σοι δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

he ordereth a table in the Spirit shall eat of it ; otherwise he is a false prophet. And every prophet teaching the truth, if he doeth not what he teacheth, is a false prophet. And every prophet approved and found true, if he doeth ought as an outward mystery typical of the Church, and yet teacheth you not to do all that he himself doeth, shall not be judged before you ; he hath his judgement in the presence of God ; for in like manner also did the prophets of old time. And whosoever shall say in the Spirit, Give me silver or anything else, ye shall not listen to him ; but if he tell you to give on behalf of others that are in want, let no man judge him. 5 10

But let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received ; and that when ye have tested him ye shall know him, for ye shall have understanding on the right hand and on the left. If the comer is a traveller, assist him, so far as ye are able ; but he shall not stay with you more than two or three days, if it be necessary. But if he wishes to settle with you, being a craftsman, let him work for and eat his bread. But if he has no craft, according to your wisdom provide how he shall live as a Christian among you, but not in idleness. If he will not do this, he is trafficking upon Christ. Beware of such men. 15 20

But every true prophet desiring to settle among you is worthy of his food. In like manner a true teacher is also worthy, like the workman, of his food. Every firstfruit then of the produce of the wine-vat and of the threshing-floor, of thy oxen and of thy sheep, thou shalt take and give as the firstfruit to the prophets ; for they are your chief-priests. But if ye have not a prophet, give them to the poor. If thou makest bread, take the firstfruit and give according to the commandment. In like manner, when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the firstfruit and give to the prophets ; yea and of money and raiment and every possession take the firstfruit, as shall seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment. 25 30 35

- Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ. πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελ-
 5 θέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. αὕτη γάρ ἐστίν ἡ ῥηθείσα ὑπὸ Κυρίου· Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.
- 10 Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀγίους τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι
- 15 ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

Doctrina Apost. 7-15.

IX.

Plinius Traiano.

- SOLLEMNE est mihi, domine, omnia de quibus dubito ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam: ideo nescio quid et qua-
 20 tenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter haesitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant, detur paenitentiae venia, an ei qui omnino Christianus fuit desisse non prosit, nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia
 25 nomini puniantur. Interim in iis qui ad me tamquam Christiani deferebantur hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani: confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi supplicium minatus: perseverantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, quaecumque esset
 30 quod faterentur, pertinaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae, quos,

And on the Lord's own day gather yourselves together and break bread and give thanks, first confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. And let no man, having his dispute with his fellow, join your assembly until they have been reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled; for this sacrifice it is that was spoken of by the Lord; In every place and at every time offer Me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great king, saith the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the nations.

Appoint for yourselves therefore bishops and deacons ¹⁰ worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not lovers of money, and true and approved; for unto you they also perform the service of the prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not; for they are your honourable men ¹⁵ along with prophets and teachers.

L. 15

Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan.
Pliny to Trajan.

It is my custom, lord emperor, to refer to you all questions whereof I am in doubt. Who can better guide me when I am at a stand, or enlighten me if I am in ignorance? In investigations of Christians I have never taken part; hence I do not know what is the crime usually ²⁰ punished or investigated, or what allowances are made. So I have had no little uncertainty whether there is any distinction of age, or whether the very weakest offenders are treated exactly like the stronger; whether pardon is given to those who repent, or whether nobody who has ²⁵ ever been a Christian at all gains anything by having ceased to be such; whether punishment attaches to the mere name apart from secret crimes, or to the secret crimes connected with the name. Meantime this is the course I have taken with those who were accused before ³⁰ me as Christians. I asked at their own lips whether they were Christians, and if they confessed, I asked them a second and third time with threats of punishment. If they kept to it, I ordered them for execution; for I held no question that whatever it was that they admitted, in any ³⁵ case obstinacy and unbending perversity deserve to be punished. There were others of the like insanity; but as

quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore multorum nomina continens. Qui negabant esse
5 se Christianos aut fuisse, cum praeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea male dicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur qui sunt re vera Christiani, dimittendos esse
10 putavi. Alii ab indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt; fuisse quidem, sed desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti. Hi quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt et Christo male dixe-
15 runt. Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpaе suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria com-
20 mitterent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse
25 vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quaerere. Nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam immodicam. Ideo dilata cognitione ad

these were Roman citizens, I noted them down to be sent to Rome. Before long, as is often the case, the mere fact that the charge was taken notice of made it commoner, and several distinct cases arose. An unsigned paper was presented, which gave the names of many. As for those 5 who said that they neither were nor ever had been Christians, I thought it right to let them go, since they recited a prayer to the gods at my dictation, made supplication with incense and wine to your statue, which I had ordered to be brought into court for the purpose 10 together with the images of the gods, and moreover cursed Christ—not one of which things (so it is said) those who are really Christians can be made to do. Others who were named by the informer said that they were Christians and then denied it, explaining that they had 15 been, but had ceased to be such, some three years ago, some a good many years, and a few as many as twenty. All these too not only worshipped your statue and the images of the gods, but cursed Christ. They maintained, however, that the amount of their fault or error had been this, that 20 it was their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing by turns a hymn to Christ as a god; and that they bound themselves with an oath, not for any crime, but not to commit theft or robbery or adultery, not to break their word, and not to deny a deposit when de- 25 manded. After this was done, their custom was to depart, and meet together again to take food, but ordinary and harmless food; and even this (they said) they had given up doing after the issue of my edict, by which in accordance with your commands I had forbidden the existence 30 of clubs. On this I considered it the more necessary to find out from two maid-servants who were called deaconesses, and that by torments, how far this was true: but I discovered nothing else than a wicked and arrogant superstition. I therefore adjourned the case and hastened 35

consulendum te decucurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque civi-
 5 tates tantum sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti pastumque venire victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus
 10 emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit paenitentiae locus.

Traianus Plinio.

Actum quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid quod quasi certam
 15 formam habeat constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando dis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum, veniam ex paenitentia impetret. Sine
 20 auctore vero propositi libelli in nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est.

PLINY, *Epp.* x. 96, 97.

X.

Ταύτη γοῦν οὗτος θεομάχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγὰς. Παῦλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν
 25 ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ Πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι

to consult you. The matter seemed to me worth deliberation, especially on account of the number of those in danger ; for many of all ages and every rank, and even of both sexes are brought into present or future danger. The contagion of that superstition has penetrated not the 5 cities only, but the villages and country ; yet it seems possible to stop it and set it right. At any rate it is certain enough that the almost deserted temples begin to be resorted to, that long disused ceremonies of religion are restored, and that fodder for victims finds a market, 10 whereas buyers till now were very few. From this it may easily be supposed, what a multitude of men can be reclaimed, if there be a place of repentance.

Trajan to Pliny.

You have followed, my dear Secundus, the process you should have done in examining the cases of those who 15 were accused to you as Christians, for indeed nothing can be laid down as a general law involving something like a definite rule of action. They are not to be sought out ; but if they are accused and convicted, they must be punished—yet on this condition, that whoso denies him- 20 self to be a Christian, and makes the fact plain by his action, that is, by worshipping our gods, shall obtain pardon on his repentance, however suspicious his past conduct may be. Papers, however, which are presented unsigned ought not to be admitted in any charge, for 25 they are a very bad example and unworthy of our time.

The Neronian Persecution (Eusebius).

IN this way then declaring himself the first of God's chief enemies, [Nero] was stirred up to the slaughter of the Apostles. It is recorded then that Paul was beheaded at Rome itself, and that Peter likewise was crucified in his 30

κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦνται. καὶ πιστοῦνται γε τὴν ἱστορίαν
 ἢ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν
 αὐτόθι κοιμητηρίων πρόσρησις. οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον καὶ
 ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ Γάϊος ὄνομα, κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον Ῥω-
 5 μαίων γεγωνὸς ἐπίσκοπον· ὃς δὴ Πρόκλῳ τῆς κατὰ
 Φρύγας προϊσταμένῳ γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς, αὐτὰ
 δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων ἔνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστόλων
 τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατίθεται, φησίν·

Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. ἐὰν
 10 γὰρ θελήσης ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανόν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν
 ὁδὸν τὴν Ὡστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυ-
 σαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἐμαρτύρησαν,
 Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἐγγράφως Ῥωμαίοις
 15 ὁμιλῶν, ᾧδὲ πως παρίστησιν·

Ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ
 Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεῖαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ
 Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν
 ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς, ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν·
 20 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες, ἐμαρτύ-
 ρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 25.

XI.

Πέτρου μὲν οὖν Ἐπιστολὴ μία ἢ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ
 προτέρα ἀνωμολόγηται· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύ-
 τεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτῳ ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηται
 25 συγγράμμασι. τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν, οὐκ
 ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν. ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς
 χρήσιμος φανείσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν.
 τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ Πράξεων, καὶ τὸ
 κατ' αὐτὸν ὠνομασμένον Εὐαγγέλιον, τό τε λεγόμενον
 30 αὐτοῦ Κήρυγμα, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν, οὐδ'

time ; and the story is confirmed by the attachment (usual even now) of their names to the cemeteries at Rome. It is also confirmed by an ecclesiastical writer, Gaius by name, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus bishop of Rome. He in his written dialogue with Proclus, a champion of the Phrygian heresy, speaks thus of the places where the holy corpses of the aforesaid Apostles are laid :—

‘But I can show the trophies of the Apostles. For if thou wilt go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, thou wilt find the trophies of those who founded this Church.’ 10

And that they were both martyred at the same time is shown by Dionysius, the Bishop of Corinth, who writes to the Romans thus :—

‘In this way by such an admonition you too joined together the plantings of Peter and Paul at Rome and 15 Corinth. For they both together in Corinth here planted us and taught alike ; and both together in Italy taught alike, and then were martyred at the same time.’

Of the Canonical Epistles.

OF Peter then one Epistle, his so-called Former, is fully acknowledged ; and of this even the ancient elders have 20 made constant use in their writings as undisputed. But as for the current Second Epistle, we have understood that it is not canonical : yet as it seemed useful to many, it was studied along with the other writings. The Acts, however, which bear his name, and the Gospel inscribed 25 ‘according to Peter,’ and his so-called Preaching and so-called Apocalypse we know have not been handed down

ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα, ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις. προ-
 5 ἰούσης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας, προὔργου ποιήσομαι σὺν ταῖς
 διαδοχαῖς ὑποσημῆνασθαι, τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλη-
 σιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποίαις κέχρηται τῶν ἀντιλεγο-
 μένων, τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων
 γραφῶν, καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἴρηται.
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὀνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὧν μόνην μίαν
 10 γνησίαν ἔγνων ἐπιστολήν, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλοι πρεσβυτέ-
 ροις ὁμολογουμένην, τοσαῦτα. τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι
 καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες. ὅτι γε μὴν τινες ἡθετή-
 κασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας
 ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ
 15 δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτης δὲ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν
 εἰρημένα κατὰ καιρὸν παραθήσομαι. οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς
 λεγομένας αὐτοῦ Πράξεις ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτοις παρῆλθα.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος, ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει προσθήσεσι
 τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, μνήμην πεποιήται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 20 καὶ Ἑρμᾶ, οὗ φασιν ὑπάρχειν τὸ τοῦ Ποιμένου βιβλίον,
 ἰστέον ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς μὲν τινῶν ἀντιλέλεκται, δι' οὗς
 οὐκ ἂν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις τεθείη, ὑφ' ἑτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαιό-
 τατον οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς, κέκριται.
 ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον,
 25 καὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τινὰς
 αὐτῷ κατεῖλθα. ταῦτα εἰς παράστασιν τῶν τε ἀναν-
 τιρρήτων καὶ τῶν μὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένων θείων
 γραμμάτων εἰρήσθω.

Ibid. iii. 3.

XII.

Εὐλογον δ' ἐνταῦθα γενομένους ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι
 30 τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς Διαθήκης γραφάς. καὶ δὴ

at all among canonical books, because no ecclesiastical writer, either of the ancients or of our own time, ever made general use of testimonies from them. But, as my history goes on, I shall do my diligence to signify along with the successions, who of the ecclesiastical writers from time to 5 time used disputed books, and which of them they used, and also what they have said concerning the canonical and acknowledged books, and all that they have said concerning those that are not such. But so many are the writings that bear the name of Peter ; and of them I recognize one 10 single Epistle as genuine and acknowledged by the ancient elders. Of Paul the fourteen are manifest and clear. It is not indeed right to ignore the fact that some have rejected that to the Hebrews, saying that it is disputed by the Roman Church as not being Paul's ; but I will set out 15 at suitable opportunities what has been said by our predecessors concerning this Epistle too. The so-called Acts however of Paul I have not understood to be among the undisputed books. But whereas the same Apostle in the final salutations of the Epistle to the Romans mentions 20 among others Hermas, whose work the so-called *Shepherd* is said to be, it ought to be known that this too has been disputed by some, and on their account must not be set down among the acknowledged books, but by others it has been judged indispensable for those who specially need 25 elementary instruction. Hence, as we know, it has actually been read in public in churches, and I have found some even of the oldest writers using it. Let this serve to show those of the divine writings which are undisputed, and those which are not acknowledged by all. 30

Of the Canon of the New Testament.

Now that we have reached this point, it is reasonable to sum up the writings of the New Testament already mentioned. Well, then, we must set in the first place the holy

τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν,
 οἷς ἔπεται ἡ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφή. μετὰ
 δὲ ταύτην, τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον Ἐπιστολάς, αἷς ἐξῆς
 τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν, καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου
 5 κυρωτέον Ἐπιστολήν. ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἶγε φανείη,
 τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου, περὶ ἧς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ
 καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις.
 τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς,
 ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα, ἡ τε Πέτρου
 10 δευτέρα Ἐπιστολή, καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη
 Ἰωάννου, εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι, εἴτε καὶ
 ἐτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνῳ. ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω
 καὶ τῶν Παύλου Πράξεων ἡ γραφή, ὃ τε λεγόμενος
 Ποιμὴν, καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις,
 15 ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ
 λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί· ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου Ἀπο-
 κάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἣν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ
 ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινες
 καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα
 20 Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. ταῦτα
 μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἂν εἴη. ἀναγκαίως δὲ
 καὶ τούτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα, διακρίναντες
 τὰς τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν ἀληθεῖς καὶ
 ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφάς, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
 25 παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγο-
 μένας, ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
 γινωσκομένας, ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας, καὶ
 τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προφε-
 ρομένας, ἥτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Ματθία, ἡ καὶ
 30 τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας, ὡς
 Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πρά-
 ξεις, ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ τὰς

quaternion of the Gospels, which are followed by the writing of the Acts of the Apostles. After this we have to place on the list the Epistles of Paul ; and next to these we must maintain the current Former Epistle of John, and likewise that of Peter. In addition to these we must set down, if 5 it do seem right, the Apocalypse of John ; but the opinions which have been held concerning this book we will set forth in due course. And these are counted as acknowledged. But of the disputed books, which are nevertheless familiar to most [writers], the so-called Epistle of James is current, 10 and that of Jude ; also the Second of Peter, and those called Second and Third of John, whether they be the work of the Evangelist, or possibly of some other John. Among the spurious we must set down the writing of the Acts of Paul, and the so-called *Shepherd*, and the Apocalypse 15 of Peter ; and in addition to these the current Epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles, and, moreover, as I said, the Apocalypse of John if it seem good ; though some, as I said, reject it, while others include it in the acknowledged books. Some moreover have 20 also counted in this class the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is in especial honour with those of the Hebrews who have received the Christ. Now all these will belong to the disputed books. We have been obliged to include these also in our list notwithstanding [the doubts 25 about them], distinguishing the writings which according to orthodox tradition are true and genuine and fully acknowledged, from the others outside their number, which are not canonical but disputed, yet recognized by most orthodox [writers], that we might be able to mark these 30 books, and those put forward by the heretics in the name of the Apostles, whether as containing Gospels of Peter and Thomas and Matthias or also of others beside them, or as Acts of Andrew and John and the other Apostles—books of which no one of the succession of ecclesiastical 35

διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν
 ἤξιώσεν. πόρρω δέ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ
 ἦθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ· ἢ τε γνώμη
 καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις, πλείστον ὅσον
 5 τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἰρετικῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς παρίστησιν· ὅθεν
 οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντα
 καὶ δυσσεβῆ παραιτητέον.

Ibid. iii. 25.

XIII.

Τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρε-
 10 ται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'Λογίων Κυριακῶν Ἐξηγήσεις.'
 τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημο-
 νεύει, ὧδέ πως λέγων· Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου
 μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος
 ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
 15 βιβλίων. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα. αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας
 κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ
 αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστολῶν
 ἐμφαίνει, παρειληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν
 20 ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι' ὧν φησι λέξεων·

Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτε παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέ-
 ρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι
 ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν.
 οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί,
 25 ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθῇ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας
 ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου
 τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένας τῆς
 ἀληθείας. εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς
 πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον
 30 λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ
 τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις

[writers] ever condescended to make any mention in his writings. Moreover, the character of their language differs greatly from the apostolic spirit, and the sentiment and purpose of their contents, which is in the highest degree discordant with true orthodoxy, plainly shows that they are 5 forgeries of heretics; so that we must not count them even among the spurious books, but reject them as in every way monstrous and impious.

Papias.

FIVE books of Papias are extant, which bear the title Expositions of Oracles of the Lord. Of these Irenaeus 10 also makes mention as the only works written by him, in the following words: 'These things Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him.' So far Irenaeus. 15

Yet Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, certainly does not declare that he himself was a hearer and eye-witness of the holy Apostles, but he shows, by the language which he uses, that he received the matters of the faith from those who were their friends:— 20

But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations to everything that I learnt carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders, guaranteeing its truth. For, unlike the many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but 25 in those who teach the truth; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those [who record] such as were given from the Lord to the Faith, and are derived from the Truth itself. And again, on any occasion when a person came [in my way] who had been a follower of the 30 Elders, I would inquire about the discourses of the elders—what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew or any other

ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

- 5 Ἐνθα καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον δις καταριθμοῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα, ὦν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρω καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἰωάννην διαστείλας τὸν λόγον ἐτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων
10 ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα, σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει. ὥς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμία κεχρηῆσθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι.
15 οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν· εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακέναι. καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ
20 παρειληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι. ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν καὶ παραδόσεις. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθω.

- 25 Ἀξιὸν δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα, ὥσάν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσι διατρίψαι, διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδῆ-
30 λωται, ὥς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος διήγησιν παρειληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον. νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν γεγονυῖαν ἱστορεῖ, καὶ αὖ πάλιν

of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.

Here it is worth while to observe that he twice enumer- 5
ates the name of John. The first he mentions in connexion with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the Apostles, evidently meaning the Evangelist, but the other John he mentions after an interval and classes with others outside the number of the Apostles, placing Aristion 10
before him, and he distinctly calls him an Elder. So that he hereby makes it quite evident that their statement is true who say that there were two persons of that name in Asia, and that there are two tombs in Ephesus, each of which even now is called [the tomb] of John. And it is 15
important to notice this; for it is probable that it was the second, if one will not admit that it was the first, who saw the Revelation which is ascribed by name to John. And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he had received the words of the Apostles from those who 20
had followed them, but says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John. At all events he mentions them frequently by name, and besides records their traditions in his writings. So much for these points which I trust have not been uselessly adduced. 25

It is worth while however to add to the words of Papias given above other passages from him, in which he records some other wonderful events likewise, as having come down to him by tradition. That Philip the Apostle resided in Hierapolis with his daughters has been already 30
stated; but how Papias, their contemporary, relates that he had heard a marvellous tale from the daughters of Philip, must be noted here. For he relates that in his time a man rose from the dead, and again he gives another

ἕτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰουστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρ-
 σαββᾶν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ
 μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος.
 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἰουστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν
 5 τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους μετὰ Μαθθία στήσαι τε καὶ
 ἐπεύξασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον τῆς
 ἀναπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ, ἢ τῶν πράξεων ᾧδὲ
 πως ἱστορεῖ γραφῇ· Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλού-
 μενον Βαρσαββᾶν, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰουστος, καὶ Μαθθίαν·
 10 καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὥσάν ἐκ
 παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα παρατίθεται,
 ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα. ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα
 τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν,
 15 σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς
 ὑποστησομένης. ἃ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκ-
 δεξάμενον διηγῆσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς
 αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεωρακότα. σφόδρα γάρ
 τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὥσάν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμη-
 20 ράμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται· πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν
 πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῷ
 δόξης παραίτιος γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τάνδρὸς προ-
 βεβλημένοις, ὥσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναῖω, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τὰ
 ὅμοια φρονῶν ἀναπέφηνεν. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
 25 γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου
 τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγων διηγῆσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου
 Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις, ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀνα-
 πέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθεί-
 σαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ
 30 εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων·

Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμη-
 νευτῆς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς
 ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα

wonderful story about Justus who was surnamed Barsabas, how that he drank a deadly poison, and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no inconvenience. Of this Justus the Book of the Acts records that after the ascension of the Saviour the holy Apostles put him forward with Matthias, 5 and prayed for the [right] choice, in place of the traitor Judas, that should make their number complete. The passage is somewhat as follows: 'And they put forward two, Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed, and said.' The same 10 writer has recorded other notices as having come down to him from oral tradition, certain strange parables of the Saviour and teachings of His, and some other statements of a rather mythical character. Among which he says that there will be a period of some ten thousand years after the 15 resurrection, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this earth. These ideas I suppose he got through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things recorded there in figures were spoken by them mystically. For he evidently was 20 a man of very mean capacity, as one may say judging from his own statements: yet it was owing to him that so many church fathers after him adopted a like opinion, urging in their own support the antiquity of the man, as for instance Irenaeus and whoever else they were who declared that 25 they held like views. Papias also gives in his own work other accounts of the words of the Lord on the authority of Aristion who has been mentioned above, and traditions of the Elder John. To these we refer the curious, and for our present purpose we will merely add to his words, 30 which have been quoted above, a tradition, which has been set forth through these sources concerning Mark who wrote the Gospel:—

And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything 35 that he remembered, without however recording in order what was either said or done by Christ. For neither did

ἡ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρη-
 κολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς
 τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ
 σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν
 5 ἡμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἓνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν.
 ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παρα-
 λιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰστόρηται τῷ Παπῖᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου.
 περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται·

10 Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραῖδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνε-
 γράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

Κέχρηται δ' αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προ-
 τέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως. ἐκτέθειται
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτί-
 15 αῖς διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἣν τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίους
 εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως πρὸς
 τοῖς ἐκτεθείσιν ἐπιτετηρήσθω.

Ibid. iii. 39.

XIV.

Τοῦ δὲ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα αἰεὶ παρῆν· ἀληθῆ γὰρ
 ἦν· οἱ θεραπευθέντες, οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν, οἱ οὐκ
 20 ὥφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αἰεὶ παρόντες· οὐδὲ ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ Σωτῆρος,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος, ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἰκανόν, ὥστε
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινες αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο.

QUADRATUS: *ibid.* iv. 3.

XIV A.

Imperatori Hadriano Caesari et Aristide philosopho
 25 Atheniensi.

* * * * *

Καὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς εὐρόν-
 τες τὴν ἀλήθειαν· γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν Θεόν, κτίστην

he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but afterwards, as I said, [attended] Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs [of his hearers] but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So then Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things 5 as he remembered them; for he made it his own care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein.

Such then is the account given by Papias concerning Mark. But concerning Matthew, the following statement 10 is made [by him]:

So then Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could.

The same writer employed testimonies from the First Epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter. And he 15 has related another story about a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains.

L.

Quadratus on our Lord's Miracles.

BUT our Saviour's works were always present, for they were true,—even the men who were healed, who rose 20 from the dead,—who were seen not only while healed or rising, but always present, and that not only during the Saviour's stay on earth, but also after His departure they remained for a long time, so that some of them came down even to our own times.

25

The Apology of Aristides.

... Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, Worshipful and Clement, from Marcianus Aristides, philosopher of Athens¹.

* * * * *

And these are they who more than all the nations of the

¹ This mutilated inscription is given from the Syriac: the Latin opposite is translated from the Armenian.

καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν Τίῳ μονογενεὶ καὶ Πνεύ-
 ματι ἀγίῳ, καὶ ἄλλον θεὸν πλὴν τούτου οὐ σέβονται.
 Ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμένας, καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι,
 5 προσδοκῶντες ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος
 αἰῶνος. Οὐ μοιχεύουσιν, οὐ πορνεύουσιν, οὐ ψευδομαρτυ-
 ροῦσιν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὰ ἀλλότρια, τιμῶσι πατέρα καὶ
 μητέρα, καὶ τοὺς πλησίον φιλοῦσι, δέκατα κρίνουσιν, ὅσα
 οὐ θέλουσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσι, τοὺς
 10 ἀδικούντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι καὶ προσφιλεῖς αὐτοὺς
 ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦσι, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐεργετεῖν σπουδάζουσι,
 πραεῖς εἰσι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς, ἀπὸ πάσης συνουσίας ἀνόμου
 καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ἐγκρατεῦνται, χήραν
 οὐχ ὑπερορῶσιν, ὀρφανὸν οὐ λυποῦσιν· ὁ ἔχων τῷ μὴ
 15 ἔχοντι ἀφθόνως ἐπιχορηγεῖ· ξένον ἐὰν ἴδωσιν, ὑπὸ στέγην
 εἰσάγουσι, καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῷ ἀλη-
 θινῷ· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσιν,
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα. Ἐτοιμοὶ εἰσιν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τὰς
 ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προέσθαι· τὰ γὰρ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσ-
 20 φαλῶς φυλάττουσιν, ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες, καθὼς Κύριος
 ὁ Θεὸς αὐτοῖς προέσταξεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ
 πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 ἀγαθοῖς. Ὅντως οὖν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας
 ἣτις τοὺς ὁδεύοντας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον χειραγωγεῖ
 25 βασιλείαν, τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην παρὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ μελ-
 λούσῃ ζωῇ.

Vita Barlaam et Joasaph, p. 252.

XV.

Τί δὴ οὖν τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; Ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑπισχνουμένων
 μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ τὰ ἄθεα ταῦτα δοξάζειν, οὐ κρίσεις
 ἐξετάζετε, ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ πάθει καὶ μάλιστα δαιμόνων φαύ-
 30 λων ἐξελαυνόμενοι ἀκρίτως κολάζετε μὴ φροντίζοντες.

earth have found the truth, for they know God the maker and creator in His only Son and Holy Spirit, and other god than Him they worship not. For they have the commands of the Lord Himself, even Jesus Christ, written in their hearts, and these they keep, looking for the resurrection of the dead and life of the age to come. They commit no adultery or fornication, they bear no false witness, they covet not other men's goods, they honour father and mother and love their neighbours, they judge righteously, and whatsoever things they would not have done to themselves they do not to another. They exhort them that do them wrong, and make them friendly to themselves, they strive to do good to their enemies, are meek and moderate, restrain themselves from all unlawful intercourse and from all uncleanness, they despise not a widow, and an orphan they grieve not. He that hath giveth help ungrudgingly to him that hath not. If they see a stranger, they bring him under their roof, and rejoice over him as over a brother of their own, for they call not themselves brethren after the flesh, but after the spirit. They are ready to give up their lives for Christ, for they keep His commands firmly, living holily and righteously as the Lord God commanded them, giving thanks to Him every hour at all meat and drink and all other good things.

Heathenism the work of demons.

WHAT does this mean? In our case, though we profess to do no man wrong and to reject these godless opinions, you do not examine charges, but are driven by unreasoning passion and the scourge of evil demons to punish us without investigation or consideration. For the truth

εἰρήσεται γὰρ τὰ ληθές· ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δαίμονες
 φαῦλοι, ἐπιφανείας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γυναῖκας ἐμοίχευσαν
 καὶ παῖδας διέφθειραν καὶ φόβητρα ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν,
 ὡς καταπλαγῆναι τοὺς οἱ λόγῳ τὰς γινομένας πράξεις
 5 οὐκ ἔκρινον, ἀλλὰ δέει συνηρπασμένοι καὶ μὴ ἐπιστά-
 μενοι, δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους, θεοὺς προσωνόμαζον καὶ
 ὀνόματι ἑκαστον προσηγόρευον, ὅπερ ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τῶν
 δαιμόνων ἐτίθετο. ὅτε δὲ Σωκράτης λόγῳ ἀληθεῖ καὶ
 ἐξεταστικῶς ταῦτα εἰς φανερόν ἐπειρᾶτο φέρειν καὶ ἀπ-
 10 ἀγειν τῶν δαιμόνων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δαίμονες
 διὰ τῶν χαιρόντων τῇ κακίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἐνήργησαν ὡς
 ἄθεον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀποκτεῖναι, λέγοντες καινὰ εἰσφέρειν
 αὐτὸν δαιμόνια. καὶ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνε-
 γοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν Ἑλληνισι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ
 15 λόγου ἡλέγχθη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ λόγου μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου καὶ
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κληθέντος, ᾧ πεισθέντες ἡμεῖς τοὺς
 ταῦτα πράξαντας δαίμονας οὐ μόνον μὴ ὀρθοὺς εἶναι
 φάμεν, ἀλλὰ κακοὺς καὶ ἀνοσίους δαίμονας, οἱ οὐδὲ τοῖς
 20 ἀρετὴν ποθοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσι.

JUSTIN, *Apol.* i. 5.

XVI.

Ἵνα δὲ μή τινες ἀλογισταίνοντες εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν
 δεδιδαγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἴπωσι, πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντή-
 κοντα γεγεννηῆσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυ-
 ρηνίου, δεδιδαχέναι δὲ ἃ φάμεν διδάξαι αὐτὸν ὕστερον
 25 χρόνοις ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπικαλῶσιν, ὡς ἀνευθύ-
 νων ὄντων τῶν προγεγενημένων πάντων ἀνθρώπων, φθά-
 σαντες τὴν ἀπορίαν λυσώμεθα. τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον
 τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν καὶ προεμηνύσαμεν λόγον
 ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε. καὶ οἱ μετὰ
 30 λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοὶ εἰσι, καὶ ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν,

shall be told. It is because evil demons of old made apparitions, and defiled women and corrupted boys, and showed to men such horrors that those were struck with terror who did not judge by reason the acts performed, but were carried away by fear, and in their ignorance 5 that these were evil demons called them gods, and addressed each of them by name according as each demon styled himself. But when Socrates essayed by true reason and examination to bring these things to the light and lead men away from the demons, then these same demons 10 by means of men who rejoiced in iniquity caused them to slay him as a godless and impious man, saying that he was introducing new divinities—and the same likewise they cause to be done in our case. For not among the Greeks alone were these things through Socrates con- 15 demned by reason, but among the barbarians also by the Reason himself taking shape and made man and called Jesus Christ; and at His persuasion we hold that the demons who did these things are not only not good, but wicked and unholy demons, whose acts are not like even 20 those of men who long for virtue.

Christianity before Christ.

BUT that some may not in reply to our teachings unreasonably say that according to us Christ was born 150 years ago in the time of Cyrenius, and taught what we assert Him to have taught at a later time under Pontius 25 Pilate, and so object that all men who lived before Him were irresponsible, let us solve the difficulty in advance. We were taught that Christ is the firstborn of God, and we have already signified that He is the reason, in which every race of men did share. Thus those who lived with 30 reason are Christians even if they were counted godless,

οἶον ἐν Ἑλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαὴλ καὶ Ἡλίας καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, ὧν τὰς πράξεις ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα καταλέγειν μακρὸν εἶναι
 5 ἐπιστάμενοι τανῦν παραιτούμεθα.

Ibid. i. 46.

XVII.

Ὅν τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἀνεθήκαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ καινοποιηθέντες διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξηγησόμεθα, ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο παραλιπόντες δόξωμεν πονηρεύειν τι ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει. ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῇ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ'
 10 ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὐχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδασκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συνηστευόντων αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί, καὶ τρόπον
 15 ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται· ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότης Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ
 20 εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐστί. . . . καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός, ὥς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μαθάνοντων. . . .
 25 Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λούσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκατατεθειμένον ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀδελφοὺς ἄγομεν, ἔνθα συνηγμένοι εἰσὶ, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως, ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν τὰ ἀληθῇ μαθόντες καὶ δι'
 30 ἔργων ἀγαθοὶ πολιτευταὶ καὶ φύλακες τῶν ἐντεταλμένων

as of the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus and others like them, and of the barbarians Abraham, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishaël, Elijah, and many others, whose names and acts we decline to set down here, knowing that they would be long to tell.

5

Christian Worship.

BUT I will explain how we also dedicated ourselves to God when we were made new through Christ, lest by passing it over I should seem in any way unfair in my explanation. As many as are persuaded and believe that the things are true which are taught by us and said to be ¹⁰ true, and promise that they can live accordingly—they are taught to pray and to ask of God with fasting forgiveness of their former sins, and we pray and fast together with them. Then they are brought by us to a place where there is water, and born again with a new birth ¹⁵ even as we ourselves were born again. For in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit do they then receive the washing in water. For Christ said, Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of ²⁰ heaven. But that it is impossible for those once born to enter into the wombs of their mothers is manifest to all. . . . And this washing is called Enlightenment, because those who learn these things have their understanding enlightened. . . .

25

But after having thus washed him that is persuaded and has given his assent, we bring him to where the brethren as they are called are gathered together, to make earnest prayers in common for ourselves and for the newly enlightened, and for all others everywhere, that ³⁰ we may be counted worthy after we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found right liver and keepers of the commandments, that we may be saved with

- εὑρεθῆναι, ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον σωτηρίαν σωθῶμεν. ἀλλή-
 λους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν.
 ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος
 καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν
 5 αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ
 Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαρι-
 στίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιώσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολλὴν
 ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν
 πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων· Ἀμήν. τὸ δὲ ἀμήν
 10 τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ φωνῇ τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει. εὐχαριστή-
 σαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ
 λαοῦ οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἐκάστῳ
 τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου
 καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.
- 15 Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἥς
 οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἑξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ
 εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ
 ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν καὶ οὕτως
 βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν
 20 ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν
 τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν
 ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ
 25 μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος
 Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ
 ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύ-
 μασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντε-
 τάλθαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα
 30 εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ
 σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχα-
 ριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι αἱμά μου, καὶ μόνοις
 αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστη-

the eternal salvation. We salute each other with a kiss when our prayers are ended. Afterwards is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of water and [mixed] wine, and he takes it and offers up praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name 5 of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks at length, that we have received these favours from Him; and at the end of his prayers and thanksgiving the whole people present responds, saying Amen. Now the word Amen in the Hebrew language signifies So be it. Then 10 after the president has given thanks and all the people responded, the deacons as we call them allow every one of those present to partake of the bread and wine and water for which thanks have been given; and for those absent they take away a portion.

15

And this food is called by us Eucharist, and it is not lawful for any man to partake of it but he who believes our teaching to be true, and has been washed with the washing which is for the forgiveness of sins and unto a new birth, and is so living as Christ commanded. For 20 not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour being made flesh through the word of God took both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also were we taught that the food for which thanks are given by the word of prayer that comes 25 from him—food by which blood and flesh by conversion are nourished, is both flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles in the memoirs which they composed, which are called Gospels, thus delivered that command was given them—that Jesus took bread and 30 gave thanks and said, This do in remembrance of me, this is my body; and that He likewise took the cup, and after He had given thanks said, This is my blood, and gave of it only to them. Which the evil demons imitated, commanding it to be done also in the mysteries of Mithras; 35

ρίοις· παρέδωκαν γίνεσθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες· ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μνουμένου τελεταῖς μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν, ἢ ἐπίστασθε ἢ μαθεῖν δύνασθε.

- 5 Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους ἀναμιμνήσκομεν· καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τοῖς λειπομένοις πᾶσιν ἐπικουροῦμεν, καὶ σύνεσμεν ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ. ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε οἷς προσφερόμεθα εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ Πνεύματος τοῦ
- 10 ἁγίου. καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. εἴτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστὼς διὰ
- 15 λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. καί, ὥς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις
- 20 αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ
- 25 συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν χρεῖᾳ οὖσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται. τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν
- 30 κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς

for that bread and a cup of water are set forth with certain formulæ in the ceremonial of initiation, you either know or can learn.

But we afterwards henceforth continually put each other in mind of these things, and those of us who are wealthy 5 help all that are in want, and we always remain together. And for all things that we eat we bless the Maker of all through His Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit. And on the so-called day of the Sun there is a meeting of all of us who live in cities or the country, and 10 the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time allows. Then when the reader has ceased, the president gives by word of mouth his admonition and exhortation to follow these excellent things. Afterwards we all rise at once and offer prayers; 15 and as I said, when we have ceased to pray, bread is brought and wine and water, and the president likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his power, and the people responds with its Amen. Then follows the distribution to each and the partaking of that 20 for which thanks were given; and to them that are absent a portion is sent by the hand of the deacons. Of those that are well to do and willing, every one gives what he will according to his own purpose, and the collection is deposited with the president, and he it is that succours 25 orphans and widows, and those that are in want through sickness or any other cause, and those that are in bonds, and the strangers that are sojourning, and in short he has the care of all that are in need. Now we all hold our common meeting on the day of the Sun, because it is the 30 first day, on which God changed the darkness and matter in His making of the world, and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For on the day

Κρονικῆς ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν Κρονικὴν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανείς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν.

Ibid. i. 61, 65-67.

XVIII.

5 Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἡ γραφὴ οὐκ ἔχει· Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, ἀλλ' Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεάνις ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς λοιπὰ ὡς ἔφησ. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πᾶσα προφητεία λελεγμένη εἰς Ἑζεκίαν, εἰς ὃν καὶ ἀποδείκνυται ἀποβάντα
10 κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν ταύτην. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τῶν λεγομένων Ἑλλήνων μύθοις λέλεκται ὅτι Περσεὺς ἐκ Δανάης, παρθένου οὔσης, ἐν χρυσοῦ μορφῇ ρεύσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὴν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διὸς καλουμένου, γεγέννηται· καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνοις λέγοντες αἰδεῖσθαι ὀφείλετε, καὶ
15 μᾶλλον ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον λέγειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον, καί, ἐὰν ἀποδείκνυτε ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, διὰ τὸ ἐννόμως καὶ τελέως πολιτεύεσθαι αὐτὸν κατηξιῶσθαι τοῦ ἐκλεγῆναι εἰς Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τερατολογεῖν τολμᾶτε, ὅπως μήτε ὁμοίως
20 τοῖς Ἑλλησι μωραίνειν ἐλέγχησθε.

JUSTIN, *Dial.* 67.

XIX.

Ὅταν γὰρ ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου λέγῃ Δαυὶδ τὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αἰνίσσεται; τὸ γὰρ ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου εἰπεῖν, φαινόμενον μὲν καὶ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον μηνύει, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνου
25 δὲ σπέρματος ὑπάρχοντα δηλοῖ. καὶ τὸ λίθον τοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἄνευ χειρῶν τμηθέντα, ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὸ αὐτὸ κέκραγε· τὸ γὰρ ἄνευ χειρῶν εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκτετμηθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωπίνον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς βουλῆς τοῦ

before Saturn's they crucified Him ; and on the day after Saturn's, which is the day of the Sun, he appeared to His Apostles and disciples and taught them these things, which we have offered to you also for consideration.

The Jewish interpretation of Isa. vii. 14.

AND Trypho answered, The scripture has not Behold 5 the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, but Behold the young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and the rest of it as you say. But the whole prophecy was spoken of Hezekiah, and in him it is proved that the things were fulfilled according to this prophecy. But in the legends 10 of those who are called Greeks we read that Perseus was born of Danae, who was a virgin, and on whom he who is by them called Zeus came down in the form of a shower of gold ; and you ought to be ashamed of telling the same tale as they, and should rather say that this Jesus was 15 a man born of men, and, if you prove from the Scriptures that he is the Christ, that he was counted worthy of being chosen for the Christ because he lived a perfect life and according to the law. But do not venture to tell romancing tales, lest you be convicted of making fools of 20 yourselves like the Greeks.

The Christian interpretation of various passages.

WHEN Daniel says As a son of man¹ of him who receives the everlasting kingdom, is he not hinting this very thing ? For the words, As a son of man, show that he seemed and became a man, but declare that he was not 25 born of human seed. And in that he speaks of him as a stone cut without hands², he proclaims the same in a mystery, for the words Cut out without hands signify

¹ Dan. vii. 13.

² Dan. ii. 34.

προβάλλοντος αὐτὸν Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ
 Ἑσαΐαν φάναι· Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται;
 ἀνεκδιήγητον ἔχοντα τὸ γένος αὐτὸν ἐδήλου· οὐδεὶς γάρ,
 ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνεκδιήγητον ἔχει τὸ γένος.
 5 καὶ τὸ τὸν Μωσέα εἰπεῖν πλυνεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν στολὴν
 αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς, οὐχ, ὃ καὶ ἤδη πολλάκις πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς παρακεκαλυμμένως πεπροφητευκέναι αὐτὸν εἶπον,
 ἐστίν; ὅτι αἷμα μὲν ἔχειν αὐτὸν προεμήνυνεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ
 ἀνθρώπων· ὃν τρόπον τὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου αἷμα οὐκ ἄνθρω-
 10 πος ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεός. καὶ Ἑσαΐας δὲ μεγάλης
 βουλῆς ἄγγελον αὐτὸν εἰπών, οὐχὶ τούτων, ὧν περ ἐδίδαξεν
 ἐλθὼν, διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι προεκήρυσσεν;
 Ἄ γὰρ μέγαλα ἐβεβούλευτο ὁ Πατὴρ εἰς τε πάντας
 τοὺς εὐαρέστους γενομένους αὐτῷ καὶ γενησομένους
 15 ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ
 ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπους ἢ ἀγγέλους, οὗτος μόνος ἀπαρακαλύπτως
 ἐδίδαξεν.

Ibid. 76.

XIXA.

Καὶ τοῦτο νῦν ἐξευρέθη παρ' αὐτοῖς, Τατιανοῦ τινὸς
 πρώτως ταύτην εἰσενέγκαντος τὴν βλασφημίαν· ὃς
 20 Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατῆς γεγονώς, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ,
 οὐδὲν ἐξέφηνε τοιοῦτον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν
 ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἴηματι διδασκάλου ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ
 τυφωθεὶς ὡς διαφέρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα

that it is not a work of men, but of God the Father of the universe, who produces him. Again, when Isaiah said, Who shall declare his generation¹? it was a plain proof that he had a generation which could not be declared, for none who is a man from men has a generation that cannot 5 be declared. And in that Moses says that he washes his raiment in the blood of the grape², is not this the thing that I have often told you he prophesied obscurely, how he signified aforetime that he had blood, but not of men, even as it was not man but God that brought forth the 10 blood of the wine? Again, when Isaiah called him Angel of mighty counsel³, did he not foretell that he would be the teacher of the things which he taught when he came? For he alone taught openly the mighty works which the Father had counselled with regard to all men who ever 15 were or shall be well-pleasing to him, and with regard to those who rebelled against his counsel, as well men as angels, saying [Matt. viii. 11, 12].

The Encratites.

‘AND this is a recent discovery of theirs, one Tatian being the chief introducer of the blasphemy. He was 20 a hearer of Justin, and as long as he continued with him put forth no such doctrine: but after Justin’s martyrdom he left the church, being lifted up with the reputation of

¹ Isa. liii. 8.² Gen. xlix. 11.³ Isa. ix. 6, LXX.

δικασκαλείου συνεστήσατο, αἰῶνάς τινας ἀοράτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσας, γάμον τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίῳ καὶ Σατορνίνῳ ἀναγορεύσας, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ σωτηρία παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν αἰτιολογίαν ποιησάμενος. Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Εἰρηναῖος . . . Ὁ μέντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεῖς, τὸ “ Διὰ τεσσάρων ” τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν· ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 29.

XX.

- 10 Ἐτι τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ “ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ” ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ τότε Σωτῆρι προσφωνοῦσα. ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲν οἶον τὸ καὶ παραθέσθαι λέξεις, δι' ὧν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ φυλαχθὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔθος ἀποδεχόμενος, ταῦτα γράφει·
- 15 Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφούς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας· δι' ὧν πέμπετε ἀρχῆθεν
- 20 ἐφοδίων, πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμαῖοι διαφυλάττοντες, ὃ οὐ μόνον διατετήρηκεν ὁ μακάριος ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηύξηκεν, ἐπιχορηγῶν μὲν τὴν διαπεμπομένην δαψίλειαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους, λόγοις

a teacher, and puffed up with the idea that he was better than others. So he formed a peculiar school of his own, inventing some invisible aeons like the Valentinians, and like Marcion and Saturninus declaring marriage to be corruption and fornication, though his argument for the 5 salvation of Adam was his own.' So far Irenaeus. . . . Their former leader, however, Tatian, put together somehow or other a kind of combination and collection of the Gospels, to which he gave the name of *Diatessaron*, which book is still used in some quarters. 10

Letter of Dionysius of Corinth to the Romans.

MOREOVER there is current an Epistle of Dionysius to the Romans, addressed to Soter who was then bishop. But there is nothing like quoting from it words in which he approves the custom of the Romans which was kept up till the persecution of our own time, writing thus, For 15 you have from the beginning this custom of doing good in divers ways to all the brethren, and sending supplies to many churches in all the cities, in one place refreshing the poverty of them that need, in another helping brethren in the mines with the supplies which you have sent from 20 the beginning, maintaining like Romans the traditional custom of the Romans, which your worthy bishop Soter has not only kept up but increased, helping the saints with the abundant supply he sends from time to time, and with

δὲ μακαρίοις τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἀδελφούς, ὡς τέκνα πατὴρ φιλόστοργος, παρακαλῶν.

Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους μέμνηται ἐπιστολῆς, δηλῶν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους
5 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι. λέγει γοῦν·

Τὴν σήμερον οὖν Κυριακὴν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν· ἣν ἔξομεν αἰεὶ ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νοουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν
10 διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.

Ἔτι δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ραδιουργηθεισῶν, ταῦτα φησίν·

Ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀξιοσάντων με γράψαι, ἔγραψα. καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων γεγέμικαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαιροῦντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες.
15 οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κείται. οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν Κυριακῶν ραδιουργῆσαί τινες ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν, ὅποτε καὶ ταῖς οὐ τοιαύταις ἐπιβεβουλεύκασιν.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 23.

XXI.

Οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικούντες
20 δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς, εἰρήνη καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος τῆς ἐνθάδε θλίψεως, καὶ τὴν
25 τοσαύτην τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ὀργήν, καὶ ὅσα ὑπέμειναν οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες, ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὐθ' ἡμεῖς εἰπεῖν ἱκανοί, οὔτε μὴν γραφῇ περιληφθῆναι δυνατόν. παντὶ γὰρ σθένει ἐνέσκηψεν ὁ ἀντικείμενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἤδη τὴν ἀδεῶς μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ·
30 καὶ διὰ πάντων διήλθεν, ἐθίζων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προ-

blessed words exhorting, as a loving father his children, the brethren who come up to Rome. In this same Epistle he also mentions Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, showing that from the first of ancient custom it was read before the Church. He says, To-day being the Lord's day 5 we kept holy ; and in it we read your letter, from the reading of which we shall always be able to obtain admonition, as from the former one written to us through Clement. Again, the same writer speaks of his own epistles as having been falsified, in these words, For when the 10 brethren asked me to write letters, I wrote them ; and these the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, taking away some things and adding others. For them the Woe is reserved. So it is no marvel if some have endeavoured to falsify even the dominical scriptures, when they have 15 plotted also against writings of another sort.

The Persecution at Lyons and Vienne.

THE servants of Christ residing at Vienne and Lyons, in Gaul, to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who hold the same faith and hope of redemption, peace and grace and glory from God the Father and Christ 20 Jesus our Lord.

The greatness of the tribulation in this region, and the fury of the heathen against the saints, and the sufferings of the blessed witnesses, we cannot recount accurately, nor indeed could they possibly be recorded. For with all 25 his might the adversary fell upon us, giving us a foretaste of his unbridled activity at his future coming. He endeavoured in every manner to practise and exercise his

γυμνάζων κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥστε μὴ μόνον
 οἰκιῶν καὶ βαλανείων καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἶργεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
 καθόλου φαίνεσθαι ἡμῶν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἀπειρηῆσθαι ἐν ὁποίῳ
 5 δῆποτε τόπῳ. ἀντεστρατήγει δὴ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς ἐρρύετο, ἀντιπαρέτασσε δὲ στύλους
 ἐδραίους, δυναμένους διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ὁρμὴν
 τοῦ πονηροῦ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐλκύσαι· οἳ καὶ ὁμόσε ἐχώρουν
 αὐτῷ, πᾶν εἶδος ὀνειδισμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως ἀνεχόμενοι, οἳ
 καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὀλίγα ἡγούμενοι ἔσπενδον πρὸς Χριστόν,
 10 ὄντως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅτι 'οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν
 καιροῦ, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς
 ἡμᾶς.' καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου πανδημεὶ
 σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενα γενναίως ὑπέμενον, ἐπιβοήσεις, καὶ
 πληγὰς, καὶ συρμούς, καὶ διαρπαγὰς, καὶ λίθων βολὰς,
 15 καὶ συγκλείσεις, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἡγριωμένῳ πλήθει ὡς
 πρὸς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι. καὶ δὴ
 ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου καὶ τῶν
 προεστηκότων τῆς πόλεως ἐξουσιῶν, ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλή-
 θους ἀνακριθέντες καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες, συνεκλείσθησαν
 20 εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἕως τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρουσίας. μετ-
 ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀχθέντων αὐτῶν, κἀκεῖνον
 πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμότητι χρωμένου, Οὐέττιος Ἐπ-
 ἀγαθος, εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, πλήρωμα ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς
 τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον κεχωρηκώς, (οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ
 25 τοσοῦτον ἠκρίβωτο ἡ πολιτεία, ὡς καίπερ ὄντα νέον
 συνεξισοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ·
 πεπόμενον γοῦν 'ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι
 τοῦ Κυρίου ἄμεμπτος,' καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον
 λειτουργίᾳ ἄοκνος, ζῆλον Θεοῦ πολὺν ἔχων, καὶ ζέων τῷ
 30 πνεύματι·) τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ὢν τὴν οὕτω καθ' ἡμῶν ἀλό-
 γως γινομένην κρίσιν οὐκ ἐβάστασεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερηγανάκ-
 τησε, καὶ ἡξίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκουσθῆναι ἀπολογούμενος
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἄθεον μηδὲ ἀσεβές ἐστὶν ἐν

servants against the servants of God, not only shutting us out from houses and baths and markets, but forbidding any of us to be seen in any place whatever. But the grace of God led the conflict against him, and delivered the weak, and set them as firm pillars, able through 5 patience to endure all the wrath of the Evil One. And they joined battle with him, undergoing all kinds of shame and injury; and regarding their great sufferings as little, they hastened to Christ, manifesting truly that 'the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be 10 compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us-ward.' First of all, they endured nobly the injuries heaped upon them by the populace; clamours and blows and draggings and robberies and stonings and imprisonments, and all things which an infuriated mob delight 15 in inflicting on enemies and adversaries. Then being taken to the forum by the chiliarch and the authorities of the city, they were examined in the presence of the whole multitude, and having confessed, they were imprisoned until the arrival of the governor. When, after- 20 wards, they were brought before him, and he treated us with the utmost cruelty, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, and a man filled with love for God and his neighbour, interfered. His life was so consistent that, although young, he had obtained a reputation equal to 25 that of the elder Zacharias: for he 'walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless,' and was untiring in every good work for his neighbour, zealous for God and fervent in spirit. Such being his character, he could not endure the unreasonable judgement 30 against us, but was filled with indignation, and asked to be permitted to testify in behalf of his brethren, that there is among us nothing ungodly or impious. But those

ἡμῖν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸ βῆμα καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ, (καὶ
 γὰρ ἦν ἐπίσημος,) καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος μὴ ἀνασχομένου τῆς
 οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δικαίας προταθείσης ἀξιώσεως, ἀλλὰ
 μόνον τοῦτο πυθομένου, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶη Χριστιανός, τοῦ
 5 δὲ λαμπροτάτῃ φωνῇ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἀνελήφθη καὶ αὐτὸς
 εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τῶν μαρτύρων, 'παράκλητος Χριστιανῶν
 χρηματίσας, ἔχων δὲ τὸν Παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ
 Πνεῦμα πλεῖον τοῦ Ζαχαρίου. ὃ διὰ τοῦ πληρώματος
 τῆς ἀγάπης ἐνεδείξατο, εὐδοκήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 10 ἀπολογίας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖναι ψυχὴν. ἦν γὰρ καὶ
 ἔστι γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητής, 'ἀκολουθῶν τῷ Ἀρνίῳ
 ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγῃ.' ἐντεῦθεν δὴ διεκρίνοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ
 φανεροὶ καὶ ἔτοιμοι ἐγίνοντο πρωτομάρτυρες. οἱ καὶ
 μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς
 15 μαρτυρίας. ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι,
 καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου τόνον ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ
 δυνάμενοι. ὧν καὶ ἐξέτρωσαν ὡς δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν· οἱ
 καὶ μεγάλην λύπην καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον ἐνεποίησαν
 ἡμῖν, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μὴ συνειλημμέ-
 20 νων ἐνέκοψαν, οἱ καίπερ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ πάσχοντες, ὅμως
 συμπαρήσαν τοῖς μάρτυσι καὶ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο αὐτῶν.
 τότε δὴ οἱ πάντες μεγάλως ἐπτοήθημεν, διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον
 τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κολάσεις φοβού-
 μενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἀφορῶντες, καὶ τὸ ἀποπεσεῖν τινα
 25 δεδιότες. συναλαμβάνοντο μέντοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
 οἱ ἄξιοι, τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληροῦντες ἀριθμόν, ὥστε συλ-
 λεγῆναι ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους,
 καὶ δι' ὧν μάλιστα συνειστήκει τὰ ἐνθάδε. συναλαμβά-
 νοντο δὲ καὶ ἐθνικοὶ τινες οἰκέται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ
 30 δημοσίᾳ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναζητεῖσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς·
 οἱ καὶ κατ' ἐνέδραν τοῦ Σατανᾶ, φοβηθέντες τὰς βασά-
 νους ἃς τοὺς ἀγίους ἔβλεπον πάσχοντας, τῶν στρατι-
 ωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρορμώντων αὐτούς, κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν

about the judgement-seat cried out against him, for he was a man of distinction ; and the governor refused to grant his just request, and merely asked if he also were a Christian. And he, confessing this with a loud voice, was himself taken into the order of the witnesses, being 5 called the advocate of the Christians, but having the Advocate in himself, the Spirit more abundantly than Zacharias. He showed this by the fullness of his love, being well pleased even to lay down his life in defence of the brethren. For he was and is a true disciple of Christ, 10 'following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.'

Then the others were divided, and the protomartyrs readily came forward, who finished their confession with all eagerness. But some appeared unprepared and untrained, 15 weak as yet, and unable to endure so great a conflict. About ten of these proved abortions, causing us great grief and sorrow beyond measure, and impairing the zeal of the others who had not yet been seized, but who, though suffering all kinds of affliction, continued constantly with the witnesses and did not forsake them. 20 Then all of us feared greatly on account of uncertainty as to their confession ; not because we dreaded the sufferings to be endured, but because we looked to the end, and were afraid that some of them might fall away. But those who were worthy were seized day by day, filling 25 up their number, so that all the zealous persons, and those through whom especially our affairs had been established, were collected together out of the two churches. And some of our heathen servants also were seized, as the governor had publicly commanded that all of us should 30 be sought out. These, being ensnared by Satan, and fearing for themselves the tortures which they beheld the saints endure, and being also urged on by the soldiers,

Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις, καὶ ὅσα μήτε λαλεῖν μήτε νοεῖν θέμις ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἴ τι τοιοῦτο πώποτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. τούτων δὲ φημισθέντων πάντες ἀπεθηριώθησαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὥστε καὶ
 5 εἰ τινες τὸ πρότερον δι' οἰκειότητα ἐμετρίαζον, τότε μεγάλως ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ διεπρίοντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰρημένον, ὅτι 'ἐλεύσεται καιρός, ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ὑμᾶς δόξει λατρεῖαν προσφέρειν τῷ Θεῷ.' ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης
 10 ἐξηγήσεως ὑπέμενον κολάσεις οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες, φιλοτιμουμένου τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ῥηθῆναί τι τῶν βλασφημῶν.

Ἐπερβεβλημένως δὲ ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ ὀργὴ πᾶσα καὶ ὄχλου καὶ ἡγεμόνος καὶ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Σάγκτον διά-
 15 κονον ἀπὸ Βιέννης, καὶ εἰς Μάτουρον νεοφώτιστον μὲν, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον ἀγωνιστήν, καὶ εἰς Ἀτταλον Περγαμηνὸν τῷ γένει, 'στύλον καὶ ἐδραῖωμα' τῶν ἐνταῦθα αἰεὶ γεγονότα, καὶ εἰς Βλανδίαν, δι' ἧς ἐπέδειξεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι τὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις εὐτελῇ καὶ αἰεδῇ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα
 20 φαινόμενα μεγάλης καταξιούται παρὰ Θεῷ δόξης, διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην, τὴν ἐν δυνάμει δεικνυμένην, καὶ μὴ ἐν εἴδει καυχωμένην. ἡμῶν γὰρ πάντων δεδιότων, καὶ τῆς σαρκίνης δεσποίνης αὐτῆς, ἥτις ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν μαρτύρων μία ἀγωνίστρια, ἀγωνιώσης μὴ οὐδὲ τὴν ὁμο-
 25 λογίαν δυνήσεται παρρησιάσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ σώματος, ἡ Βλανδίνα τοσαύτης ἐπληρώθη δυνάμεως, ὥστε ἐκλυθῆναι καὶ παρεθῆναι τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὰς παντὶ τρόπῳ βασανίζοντας αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἐωθινῆς ἕως ἐσπέρας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ὅτι νενίκηνται, μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηκέτι
 30 ὁ ποιήσουσιν αὐτῇ, καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῷ παραμένειν ἔμπνουν αὐτήν, παντὸς τοῦ σώματος περιερωγότος καὶ ἡνεωγμένου, καὶ μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι ἐν εἶδος στρεβλώσεως ἱκανὸν ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ ὅτι γε

accused us falsely of Thyestean banquets and Oedipodean intercourse, and of deeds which are not only unlawful for us to speak of or to think, but which we cannot believe were ever done by men. When these accusations were reported, all the people raged like wild beasts against us, 5 so that even if any had before been moderate on account of friendship, they were now exceedingly furious and gnashed their teeth against us. And that which was spoken by our Lord was fulfilled: 'The time will come when whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' Then 10 finally the holy witnesses endured sufferings beyond description, Satan striving earnestly that some of the slanders might be uttered by them also.

But the whole wrath of the populace, and governor, and soldiers was aroused exceedingly against Sanctus, 15 the deacon from Vienne, and Maturus, a late convert, yet a noble combatant, and against Attalus, a native of Pergamos, where he had always been a pillar and foundation, and Blandina, through whom Christ showed that things which appear mean and obscure and despicable to men 20 are with God of great glory, through love toward Him manifested in power, and not boasting in appearance. For while we all trembled, and her earthly mistress, who was herself also one of the witnesses, feared that on account of the weakness of her body, she would be unable 25 to make bold confession, Blandina was filled with such power that the men were weary and faint who were torturing her by turns from morning till evening in every manner, so that they acknowledged that they were conquered, and could do nothing more to her. And they 30 were astonished at her endurance, as her entire body was mangled and broken; and they testified that one of these forms of torture was sufficient to destroy life, not to speak

τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα. ἀλλ' ἡ μακαρία ὡς γενναῖος ἀθλητῆς ἀνεεάξεν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ· καὶ ἦν αὐτῆς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναλγησία τῶν συμβαινόντων, τὸ λέγειν ὅτι 'Χριστιανή εἰμι,' καί, 'παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν
5 φαῦλον γίνεται.'

'Ο δὲ Σάγκτος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβεβλημένως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἄνθρωπον πάσας τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αἰκίας γενναίως ὑπομένων, τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλπίζόντων διὰ τὴν ἐπιμονὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασάνων ἀκούσεσθαι τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
10 μὴ δεόντων, τοσαύτῃ ὑποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ ἴδιον κατελπίνειν ὄνομα, μήτε ἔθνους, μήτε πόλεως ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰ δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἶη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ 'Ρωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ, 'Χριστιανός εἰμι.' τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὀνόματος, καὶ
15 ἀντὶ πόλεως, καὶ ἀντὶ γένους, καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἐπαλλήλως ὡμολόγει, ἄλλην δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη. . . .

Καὶ Βιβλιάδα δέ τινα τῶν ἡρνημένων ἤδη δοκῶν ὁ Διάβολος 'καταπεπωκέναι,' θελήσας δὲ καὶ διὰ βλασφημίας κατακρῖναι, ἦγεν ἐπὶ κόλασιν, ἀναγκάζων εἰπεῖν τὰ
20 ἄθεα περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς εὐθραυστον ἤδη καὶ ἀνανδρον. ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ στρεβλώσει ἀνένηψε, καί, ὡς ἂν εἰπεῖν, ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου ἀνεγρηγόρησεν, ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γέεννῃ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀντεῖπε τοῖς βλασφήμοις, φήσασα, 'Πῶς ἂν
25 παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οἷς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν;' καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Χριστιανὴν ἑαυτὴν ὡμολόγει, καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν μαρτύρων προσετέθη. . . .

'Ο δὲ μακάριος Ποθεινός, ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ πεπιστευμένος, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα
30 ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας γεγωνώς, καὶ πάνυ ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι, μόλις μὲν ἐμπνέων διὰ τὴν προκειμένην σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας πνεύματος ἀναρρωνύμενος διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς

of so many and so great sufferings. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, renewed her strength in her confession; and her comfort and recreation and relief from the pain of her sufferings was in exclaiming, 'I am a Christian, and there is nothing vile done by us.' 5

But Sanctus also endured marvellously and superhumanly all the outrages which he suffered. While the wicked men hoped, by the continuance and severity of his torures to wring something from him which he ought not to say, he girded himself against them with such firmness 10 that he would not even tell his name, or the nation or city to which he belonged, or whether he was bond or free, but answered in the Roman tongue to all their questions, 'I am a Christian.' He confessed this instead of name and city and race and everything besides, and the people 15 heard from him no other word. . . .

But the devil, thinking that he had already consumed Biblias, who was one of those who had denied Christ, desiring to increase her condemnation through the utterance of blasphemy, brought her again to the torture, to 20 compel her, as already feeble and weak, to report impious things concerning us. But she recovered herself under the suffering, and as if awaking from a deep sleep, and reminded by the present anguish of the eternal punishment in hell, she contradicted the blasphemers. 'How,' 25 she said, 'could those eat children who do not think it lawful to taste the blood even of irrational animals?' And thenceforward she confessed herself a Christian, and was given a place in the order of the witnesses. . . .

The blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with 30 the bishopric of Lyons, was dragged to the judgement-seat. He was more than ninety years of age, and very infirm, scarcely indeed able to breathe because of physical weakness; but he was strengthened by spiritual zeal through his earnest desire for martyrdom. Though his body was 35

ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐσύρετο, τοῦ μὲν σώματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 γήρωσ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου λελυμένου, τηρουμένης δὲ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆς Χριστὸς θριαμβεύσῃ. ὃς
 ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα κομισθεὶς, παραπεμ-
 5 πόντων αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξουσιῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ
 πλήθους, ἐπιβοήσεις παντοίας ποιουμένων, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπεδίδου τὴν καλὴν μαρτυρίαν. ἀνεταξόμενος
 δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, τίς εἶπεν Χριστιανῶν ὁ Θεός, ἔφη,
 'Ἐὰν ᾗς ἄξιος, γνώσῃ.' ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐσύρετο,
 10 καὶ ποικίλας ἔπασχε πληγὰς, τῶν μὲν σύνεγγυς χειρὶ
 καὶ ποσὶν ἐνυβριζόντων πατωίως, μηδὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν
 αἰδουμένων αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ μακράν, ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας ἕκαστος
 εἶχεν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων, πάντων δὲ ἡγουμένων
 μεγάλως πλημμελεῖν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν, εἴ τις ἀπολειφθεῖν τῆς
 15 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσελγείας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτῶν ᾤοντο
 οὕτως ἐκδικήσειν. καὶ μόγις ἐμπνέων ἐρρίφη εἰς τὴν
 εἰρκτήν, καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέψυξεν. . . .

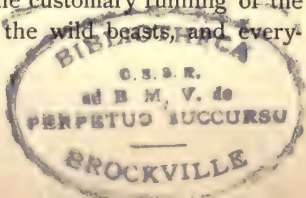
Μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ λοιπὸν εἰς πᾶν εἶδος διηρεῖτο τὰ
 μαρτύρια τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτῶν. ἐκ διαφόρων γὰρ χρωμά-
 20 των καὶ παντοίων ἀνθῶν ἕνα πλέξαντες στέφανον, προσ-
 ἤνεγκαν τῷ Πατρί. ἐχρῆν γοῦν τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητάς,
 ποικίλον ὑπομείναντας ἀγῶνα καὶ μεγάλως νικήσαντας,
 ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ ἡ Βλανδίνα καὶ Ἄττα-
 25 λος ἡγοντο ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, καὶ εἰς τὸ
 κοινὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας θέαμα, ἐπίτηδες τῆς
 τῶν θηριομαχιῶν ἡμέρας διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος αὐθις διήεσαν ἐν
 τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ διὰ πάσης κολάσεως, ὡς μηδὲν ὅλως προ-
 30 πεπονθότες, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς διὰ πλειόνων ἤδη κλήρων
 ἐκβεβιακότες τὸν ἀντίπαλον, καὶ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου αὐτοῦ
 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, ὑπέφερον πάλιν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν
 μαστίγων τὰς ἐκείσε εἰθισμένας, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων

worn out by old age and disease, his life was preserved that Christ might triumph in it. When he was brought by the soldiers to the tribunal, accompanied by the civil magistrates and a multitude who shouted against him in every manner as if he were Christ himself, he bore noble 5 witness. Being asked by the governor, Who was the God of the Christians, he replied, 'If thou art worthy, thou shalt know.' Then he was dragged away harshly, and received blows of every kind. Those near him struck him with their hands and feet, regardless of his age; and those 10 at a distance hurled at him whatever they could seize; all of them thinking that they would be guilty of great wickedness and impiety if any possible abuse were omitted. For thus they thought to avenge their own deities. Scarcely able to breathe, he was cast into prison and died 15 after two days. . . .

After these things, finally, their martyrdoms were divided into every form. For plaiting a crown of various colours and of all kinds of flowers, they presented it to the Father. It was proper therefore that the noble 20 athletes, having endured a manifold strife, and conquered grandly, should receive the crown, great and incorruptible.

Maturus, therefore, and Sanctus and Blandina, and Attalus were led to the amphitheatre to be exposed to the wild beasts, and to give to the heathen public a spectacle 25 of cruelty, a day for fighting with wild beasts being specially appointed on account of our people. Both Maturus and Sanctus passed again through every torment in the amphitheatre, as if they had suffered nothing before, or rather, as if, having already conquered their antagonist 30 in many contests, they were now striving for the crown itself. They endured again the customary running of the gauntlet and the violence of the wild beasts, and every-



ἐλκηθμούς, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μαινόμενος ὁ δῆμος ἄλλοι
 ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπεβόων καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν
 σιδηρᾶν, ἐφ' ἧς τηγανιζόμενα τὰ σώματα κνίσσης αὐτοὺς
 ἐνεφόρει. οἱ δ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἔληγον, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον
 5 ἐξεμαίνοντο, βουλόμενοι νικῆσαι τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπομονήν.
 καὶ οὐδ' ὥς παρὰ Σάγκτου ἕτερόν τι εἰσήκουσαν, παρ'
 ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴθιστο λέγειν τῆς ὁμολογίας φωνήν.
 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, δι' ἀγῶνος μεγάλου ἐπιπολὺ παραμενούσης
 αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν, διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας
 10 ἐκείνης, ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν τοῖς μονομαχίαις ποικιλίας,
 αὐτοὶ θέαμα γενόμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ.

Ἡ δὲ Βλανδίνα ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεῖσα προῦκειτο βορὰ
 τῶν εἰσβαλλομένων θηρίων· ἡ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι
 σταυροῦ σχήματι κρεμαμένη, διὰ τῆς εὐτόνου προσευχῆς,
 15 πολλὴν προθυμίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐνεποίει, βλεπόντων
 αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ τῆς
 ἀδελφῆς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἐσταυρωμένον, ἵνα πείσῃ τοὺς
 πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης
 παθὼν τὴν κοινωνίαν αἰεὶ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ ζῶντος Θεοῦ.
 20 καὶ μηδεὶς ἀψαμένου τότε τῶν θηρίων αὐτῆς, καθαιρε-
 θεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀνελήφθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτήν,
 εἰς ἄλλον ἀγῶνα τηρουμένη, ἵνα διὰ πλειόνων γυμνασμά-
 των νικήσασα τῷ μὲν σκολιῷ ὀφεί ἀπαραίτητον ποιήσῃ
 τὴν καταδίκην, προτρέψῃται δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μικρὰ
 25 καὶ ἀσθενῆς καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος, μέγαν καὶ ἀκαταγώ-
 νιστον ἀθλητὴν Χριστὸν ἐνδεδυμένη, διὰ πολλῶν κλήρων
 ἐκβιάσασα τὸν ἀντικείμενον, καὶ δι' ἀγῶνος τὸν τῆς
 ἀφθαρσίας στεψαμένη στέφανον.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλως ἐξαιτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 30 ὄχλου, (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὀνομαστός,) ἔτοιμος εἰσῆλθεν ἀγωνιστῆς
 διὰ τὸ εὐσυνείδητον, ἐπειδὴ γνησίως ἐν τῇ Χριστιανῇ
 συντάξει γεγυμνασμένος ἦν, καὶ αἰεὶ μάρτυς ἐγεγόνει παρ'
 ἡμῖν ἀληθείας. καὶ περιαχθεὶς κύκλῳ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου,

thing which the furious people called for or desired, and at last, the iron chair in which their bodies being roasted, tormented them with the fumes. And not with this did the persecutors cease, but were yet more mad against them, determined to overcome their patience. But even ⁵ thus they did not hear a word from Sanctus except the confession which he had uttered from the beginning. These, then, after their life had continued for a long time through the great conflict, were at last sacrificed, having been made throughout that day a spectacle to the world, ¹⁰ in place of the usual variety of combats.

But Blandina was suspended on a stake, and exposed to be devoured by the wild beasts who should attack her. And because she appeared as if hanging on a cross, and because of her earnest prayers, she inspired the combatants ¹⁵ with great zeal. For they looked on her in her conflict, and beheld with their outward eyes, in the form of their sister, Him who was crucified for them, that He might persuade those who believe on Him, that every one who suffers for the glory of Christ has fellowship always with ²⁰ the living God. As none of the wild beasts at that time touched her, she was taken down from the stake, and cast again into prison. She was preserved thus for another contest, that, being victorious in more conflicts, she might make the punishment of the crooked serpent irrevocable ; ²⁵ and, though small and weak and despised, yet clothed with Christ the mighty and conquering Athlete, she might arouse the zeal of the brethren, and, having overcome the adversary many times might receive, through her conflict, the crown incorruptible. ³⁰

But Attalus was called for loudly by the people, because he was a person of distinction. He entered the contest readily on account of a good conscience and his genuine practice in Christian discipline, and as he had always been a witness for the truth among us. He was led around the ³⁵

πίνακος αὐτὸν προάγοντος ἐν ᾧ ἐγγράπτο 'Ρωμαῖστί,
'Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός,' καὶ τοῦ δήμου
σφόδρα σφριγῶντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ, μαθὼν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ὅτι 'Ρω-
μαῖός ἐστιν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθῆναι μετὰ καὶ τῶν
5 λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ ὄντων, περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλε τῷ
Καίσαρι, καὶ περιέμενε τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου.

Ὁ δὲ διαμέσου καιρὸς οὐκ ἄργος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἄκαρπος
ἐγίνετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτῶν τὸ ἀμέτρητον
ἔλεος ἀνεφαίνετο Χριστοῦ. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ζώντων ἐξω-
10 ποιοῦντο τὰ νεκρά, καὶ μάρτυρες τοῖς μὴ μάρτυσιν ἐχαρί-
ζοντο. καὶ ἐνεγίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρί,
οὗς ὡς νεκροὺς ἐξέτρωσε, τούτους ζώντας ἀπολαμβάνουσῃ.
δι' ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ πλείους τῶν ἡρνημένων ἀνεμετροῦντο
καὶ ἀνεκύνισκοντο καὶ ἀνεξωπυροῦντο, καὶ ἐμάνθανον
15 ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ ζῶντες ἤδη καὶ τετονωμένοι προσήεσαν
τῷ βήματι, ἐγγλυκαίνοντος τοῦ τὸν μὲν θάνατον τοῦ
ἁμαρτωλοῦ μὴ βουλομένου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρησ-
τευομένου Θεοῦ, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν ἐπερωτηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἡγεμόνος. ἐπιστεῖλαντος γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν
20 ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, εἰ δέ τινες ἀρνοῖντο, τούτους ἀπο-
λυθῆναι, τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως, (ἔστι δὲ αὕτη πολυ-
άνθρωπος ἐκ πάντων ἐθνῶν συνερχομένων εἰς αὐτήν,) ἀρ-
χομένης συνεστάναι, ἀνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα θεατρίζων
τοὺς μακαρίους, καὶ ἐμπομπεύων τοῖς ὄχλοις. διὸ καὶ
25 πάλιν ἀνῆταξε, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐδόκουν πολιτείαν 'Ρωμαίων
ἐσχηκέναι, τούτων ἀπέτεμνε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
ἐπεμπεν εἰς θηρία.

Ἐδοξάζετο δὲ μεγάλως ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον
ἀρνησαμένοις, τότε παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπόνοιαν
30 ὁμολογοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ οὗτοι ἀνητάζοντο, ὡς δῆθεν
ἀπολυθησόμενοι. καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες προσετίθεντο τῷ
τῶν μαρτύρων κλήρῳ· ἔμειναν δὲ ἕξω, οἱ μὴδὲ ἵχνος
πώποτε πίστεως, μὴδὲ αἰσθησιν ἐνδύματος νυμφικοῦ,

amphitheatre, a tablet being carried before him on which was written in the Latin language 'This is Attalus the Christian,' and the people were filled with indignation against him. But when the governor learned that he was a Roman, he commanded him to be taken back with the 5 rest of those who were in prison concerning whom he had written to Caesar, and whose answer he was awaiting.

But the intervening time was not wasted nor fruitless to them; for by their patience the measureless compassion of Christ was manifested. For through their continued 10 life the dead were made alive, and the witnesses showed favour to those who had failed to witness. And the virgin mother had much joy in receiving alive those whom she had brought forth as dead. For through their influence many who had denied were restored, and re- 15 begotten, and rekindled with life, and learned to confess. And being made alive and strengthened, they went to the judgement-seat to be again interrogated by the governor; God, who desires not the death of a sinner, but mercifully invites to repentance, treating them with kindness. For 20 Caesar commanded that they should be put to death, but that any who might deny should be set free. Therefore, at the beginning of the public festival which took place there, and which was attended by crowds of men from all nations, the governor brought the blessed ones to the 25 judgement-seat, to make of them a show and spectacle for the multitude. Wherefore also he examined them again, and beheaded those who appeared to possess Roman citizenship, but he sent the others to the wild beasts.

And Christ was glorified greatly in those who had 30 formerly denied him, for, contrary to the expectation of the heathen, they confessed. For they were examined by themselves, as about to be set free; but confessing, they were added to the order of the witnesses. But some continued without, who had never possessed a trace of 35 faith, nor any apprehension of the wedding-garment, nor

μηδὲ ἔννοιαν φόβου Θεοῦ σχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδόν, τουτέστιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσετέθησαν· ὧν καὶ ἀνεταξομένων, Ἀλέξανδρός τις, 5 Φρύξ μὲν τὸ γένος, ἱατρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις διατρίψας, καὶ γνωστὸς σχεδὸν πᾶσι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ παρρησίαν τοῦ λόγου (ἦν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἀποστολικοῦ χαρίσματος), παρεστὼς τῷ βήματι, καὶ νεύματι προτρέ- 10 πων αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν, φανερὸς ἦν τοῖς περιεστηκόσι τὸ βῆμα ὥσπερ ὠδίνων. ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πρότερον ἡρνημένους αὐτοῖς ὁμολογεῖν, κατεβόησαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἐκείνου τοῦτο ποιοῦντος. καὶ ἐπιστήσαντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ ἀνετά- 15 σαντος αὐτόν, ὅστις εἶη, τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι Ὁ Χριστιανός, ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος, κατέκρινεν αὐτὸν πρὸς θηρία· καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλον τῷ ὄχλῳ χαριζόμενος ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία. οἱ καὶ διὰ πάντων διελθόντες τῶν ἐν 20 τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξευρημένων ὀργάνων, καὶ μέγιστον ὑπομείναντες ἀγῶνα, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν καὶ αὐτοί· τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρύξαντός τι ὅλως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὁμιλοῦντος τῷ Θεῷ. ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος ὁπότε ἐπὶ τῆς σιδηρᾶς ἐπετέθη 25 καθέδρας καὶ περιεκαίετο, ἡνίκα ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ σωματίου κνίσσα ἀνεφέρετο, ἔφη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ, Ὅϊδού, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ὃ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίομεν, οὔθ' ἑτερόν τι πονηρὸν πράσσομεν.' ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ τί ὄνομα ἔχει 30 ὁ Θεός, ἀπεκρίθη, Ὁ Θεὸς ὄνομα οὐκ ἔχει ὡς ἄνθρωπος.' Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τῇ ἐσχάτῃ λοιπὸν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μονομαχιῶν, ἡ Βλανδίνα πάλιν εἰσεκομίζετο μετὰ καὶ Ποντικὸν παιδαρίου ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν. οἱ καὶ καθημέραν

an understanding of the fear of God ; but, as sons of perdition, they blasphemed the Way through their apostasy. But all the others were added to the Church. While these were being examined, a certain Alexander, a Phrygian by birth, and physician by profession, who had 5 resided in Gaul for many years, and was well known to all on account of his love to God and boldness of speech (for he was not without a share of apostolic grace), standing before the judgement-seat, and by signs encouraging them to confess, appeared to those standing by as if in travail. 10 But the people being enraged because those who formerly denied now confessed, cried out against Alexander as if he were the cause of this. Then the governor summoned him and inquired who he was. And when he answered that he was a Christian, being very angry he condemned 15 him to the wild beasts. And on the next day he entered along with Attalus. For to please the people, the governor had ordered Attalus again to the wild beasts. And they were tortured in the amphitheatre with all the instruments contrived for that purpose, and having endured a very 20 great conflict, were at last sacrificed. Alexander neither groaned nor murmured in any manner, but communed in his heart with God. But when Attalus was placed in the iron seat, and the fumes arose from his burning body, he said to the people in the Roman language : ‘ Lo ! this 25 which ye do is devouring men ; but we do not devour men ; nor do any other wicked thing.’ And being asked, what name God has, he replied, ‘ God has not a name as man has.’

After all these, on the last day of the contests, Blandina 30 was again brought in, with Ponticus, a boy about fifteen years old. They had been brought every day to witness

εἰσήγοντο πρὸς τὸ βλέπειν τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κόλασιν, καὶ
 ἠναγκάζοντο ὁμνῦναι κατὰ τῶν εἰδῶλων αὐτῶν. καὶ διὰ
 τὸ ἐμμένειν εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν αὐτούς, ἡγριώθη
 πρὸς αὐτούς τὸ πλῆθος, ὥς μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ παιδὸς
 5 οἰκτεῖται, μήτε τὸ γύναιον αἰδεσθῆναι. πρὸς πάντα δὲ
 τὰ δεινὰ παρέβαλλον αὐτούς, καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐν κύκλῳ
 διήγον κολάσεως, ἐπαλλήλως ἀναγκάζοντες ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ
 μὴ δυνάμενοι τοῦτο πράξαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ποντικὸς ὑπὸ τῆς
 ἀδελφῆς παρωρμημένος, ὥς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη βλέπειν ὅτι
 10 ἐκείνη ἦν προτρεπομένη καὶ στηρίζουσα αὐτόν, πᾶσαν
 κόλασιν γενναίως ὑπομείνας, ἀπέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα. ἡ δὲ
 μακαρία Βλανδίνα πάντων ἐσχάτη, καθάπερ μήτηρ
 εὐγενῆς παρορμήσασα τὰ τέκνα καὶ νικηφόρους προ-
 πέμψασα πρὸς τὸν Βασιλέα, ἀναμετρούμενη καὶ αὐτὴ
 15 πάντα τὰ τῶν παίδων ἀγωνίσματα, ἔσπευδε πρὸς αὐτούς
 χαίρουσα καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ, ὥς εἰς νυμφικὸν
 δεῖπνον κεκλημένη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς θηρία βεβλημένη.
 καὶ μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας, μετὰ τὰ θηρία, μετὰ τὸ τήγανον,
 τοῦσχατον εἰς γύργαθον βληθεῖσα, ταύρῳ παρεβλήθη·
 20 καὶ ἱκανῶς ἀναβληθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ ζώου, μηδὲ αἰσθησιν
 ἔτι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν
 τῶν πεπιστευμένων καὶ ὁμίλιαν πρὸς Χριστόν, ἐτύθη καὶ
 αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογούντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅτι μηδὲ πώ-
 ποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυνὴ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν.
 25 'Αλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως κόρον ἐλάμβανεν αὐτῶν ἡ μανία καὶ
 ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους ὀμότης. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀγρίου θηρὸς ἄγρια
 καὶ βάρβαρα φῦλα παραχθέντα δυσπαύστως εἶχε, καὶ
 ἄλλην ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ ὕβρις
 αὐτῶν. τὸ γὰρ νενικῆσθαι αὐτούς οὐκ ἐδυσώπει, διὰ τὸ
 30 μὴ ἔχειν ἀνθρώπινον ἐπιλογισμόν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐξέκαεν
 αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ
 τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὅμοιον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀδίκως ἐπιδεικνυμένων
 μίσος· ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ, "Ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω

the sufferings of the others, and had been pressed to swear by the idols. But because they remained steadfast and despised them, the multitude became furious, so that they had no compassion for the youth of the boy nor respect for the sex of the woman. Therefore they exposed 5 them to all the terrible sufferings and took them through the entire round of torture, repeatedly urging them to swear, but being unable to effect this; for Ponticus, encouraged by his sister so that even the heathen could see that she was confirming and strengthening him, having 10 nobly endured every torture, gave up the ghost. But the blessed Blandina, last of all, having, as a noble mother, encouraged her children and sent them before her victorious to the King, endured herself all their conflicts and hastened after them, glad and rejoicing in her departure as if called 15 to a marriage-supper, rather than cast to wild beasts. And, after the scourging, after the wild beasts, after the roasting-seat, she was finally enclosed in a net, and thrown before a bull. And having been tossed about by the animal, but feeling none of the things which 20 were happening to her, on account of her hope and firm hold upon what had been entrusted to her, and her communion with Christ, she also was sacrificed. And the heathen themselves confessed that never among them had a woman endured so many and such terrible tortures. 25

But not even thus was their madness and cruelty toward the saints satisfied. For, incited by the Wild Beast, wild and barbarous tribes were not easily appeased, and their violence found another peculiar opportunity in the dead bodies. For, through their lack of manly reason, the fact 30 that they had been conquered did not put them to shame, but rather the more enkindled their wrath as that of a wild beast, and aroused alike the hatred of governor and people to treat us unjustly; that the Scripture might be fulfilled: 'He that is lawless, let him be lawless still, 35

ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι.' καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν-
 αποπνιγέντας ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ παρέβαλλον κυσίν, ἐπιμελῶς
 παραφυλάσσοντες νύκτωρ καὶ μεθημέραν, μὴ κηδευθῇ τις
 ὑφ' ἡμῶν. καὶ τότε δὴ προθέντες τὰ τε τῶν θηρίων, τὰ
 5 τε τοῦ πυρὸς λείψανα, πῇ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένα, πῇ δὲ
 ἡνθρακευμένα, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς σὺν τοῖς
 ἀποτμήμασιν αὐτῶν ὡσαύτως ἀτάφους παρεφύλαττον μετὰ
 στρατιωτικῆς ἐπιμελείας ἡμέραις συχναῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν
 ἐνεβριμῶντο καὶ ἔβρυχον τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ζη-
 10 τοῦντές τινα περισσοτέραν ἐκδίκησιν παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν.
 οἱ δὲ ἐνεγέλων καὶ ἐπετώθασον, μεγαλύνοντες ἅμα τὰ
 εἶδωλα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκείνοις προσάπτοντες τὴν τούτων
 τιμωρίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστεροι, καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν συμ-
 παθεῖν δοκοῦντες, ὠνείδιζον πολὺ λέγοντες, 'Ποῦ ὁ Θεὸς
 15 αὐτῶν, καὶ τί αὐτοὺς ὦνησεν ἡ θρησκεία, ἣν καὶ πρὸ τῆς
 ἑαυτῶν εἶλοντο ψυχῆς;' καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τοιαύ-
 την εἶχε τὴν ποικιλίαν, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῳ
 καθειστήκει πένθει, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα
 κρύψαι τῇ γῇ. οὔτε γὰρ νύξ συνεβάλλετο ἡμῖν πρὸς
 20 τοῦτο, οὔτε ἀργύρια ἔπειθεν, οὔτε λιτανεία ἐδυσώπει,
 παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ παρετήρουν, ὥς μέγα τι κερδανοῦντες εἰ
 μὴ τύχοιεν ταφῆς.

Ibid. v. 1.

XXII.

Fragmentum Muratorianum.

quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit
 tertio euangelii librum secundo lucan
 25 lucas iste medicus post ascensum Xpi
 cum eo paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum
 secundum adsumsisset numeni suo
 ex opinione conscribset dñm tamen nec ipse
 uidit in carne et idē prout asequi potuit
 30 ita et ad natiuitate iohannis incipet dicere

and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still.' For they cast to the dogs those who had died of suffocation in the prison, carefully guarding them by night and day, lest any one should be buried by us. And they exposed the remains left by the wild beasts and by fire, mangled and 5 charred, and placed the heads of the others by their bodies, and guarded them in like manner from burial by a watch of soldiers for many days. And some raged and gnashed their teeth against them, desiring to execute more severe vengeance upon them; but others laughed and 10 mocked at them, magnifying their own idols, and imputed to them the punishment of the Christians. Even the more reasonable, and those who had seemed to sympathize somewhat, reproached them often, saying, 'Where is their God, and what has their religion, which they have chosen 15 rather than life, profited them?' So various was their conduct toward us; but we were in deep affliction because we could not bury the bodies. For neither did night avail us for this purpose, nor did money persuade, nor entreaty move to compassion; but they kept watch in every way, as 20 if the prevention of the burial would be of some great advantage to them.

A. N. L.

Fragment of Muratori on the Canon.

. . . . but at some he was present, and so he set them down.

The third book of the Gospel, that according to Luke, 25 was compiled in his own name in order by Luke the physician, when after Christ's ascension Paul had taken him to be with him like a student of law. Yet neither did *he* see the Lord in the flesh; and he too, as he was able to ascertain [events, so set them down]¹. So he 30 began his story from the birth of John.

¹ l. 8 *ita* + *posuit ita* e conl. Lightfoot.

	quarti euangeliorum iohannis ex decipolis cohortantibus condiscipulis et ēps suis	10
	dixit conieiunate mihi odie triduo et quid cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum	
5	nobis ennarremus eadem nocte reue latum andreae ex apostolis ut recognis centibus cunctis iohannis suo nomine	15
	cuncta describeret et ideo licit uaria sin culis euangeliorum libris principia	
10	doceantur nihil tamen differt creden tium fidei cum uno ac principali spū de clarata sint in omnibus omnia de natiui	20
	tate de passione de resurrectione de conuersatione cum decipulis suis	
15	ac de gemino eius aduentu primo in humilitate dispectus quod fo it secundum potestate regali . . . pre	25
	clarum quod foturum est quid ergo mirum si iohannes tam constanter	
20	sincula etiā in epistulis suis proferam dicens in semeipsu quae uidimus oculis nostris et auribus audiuius et manus	30
	nostrae palpauerunt haec scripsimus uobis sic enim non solum uisurem sed et auditorem	
25	sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dñi per ordi nem profetetur acta autē omniū apostolorum sub uno libro scribta sunt lucas obtime theofi	35
	le comprindit quia sub praesentia eius sincula gerebantur sicuti et semote passionē petri	
30	euidenter declarat sed et profectionē pauli ab ur be ad spaniā proficiscentis epistulae autem pauli quae a quo loco uel qua ex causa directe	40
	sint uolentibus intellegere ipse declarant primū omnium corintheis scysmae heresis in	
35	terdicens deinceps b callaetis circumcisione	

The fourth of the Gospels [was written by] John, one of the disciples. When exhorted by his fellow-disciples and bishops, he said, 'Fast with me this day for three days; and what may be revealed to any of us, let us relate it to one another.' The same night it was revealed 5 to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John was to write all things in his own name, and they were all to certify.

And therefore, though various elements are taught in the several books of the Gospels, yet it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since by one guiding Spirit all 10 things are declared in all of them concerning the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the conversation with his disciples and his two comings, the first in lowliness and contempt, which has come to pass, the second glorious with royal power, which is to come. 15

What marvel therefore if John so firmly sets forth each statement in his Epistle too, saying of himself, 'What we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears and our hands have handled, these things we have written to you'? For so he declares himself not an eyewitness and a hearer 20 only, but a writer of all the marvels of the Lord in order.

The Acts however of all the Apostles are written in one book. Luke puts it shortly to the most excellent Theophilus, that the several things were done in his own presence, as he also plainly shows by leaving out the 25 passion of Peter, and also the departure of Paul from town on his journey to Spain.

The Epistles however of Paul themselves make plain to those who wish to understand it, what epistles were sent by him, and from what place and for what cause. 30 He wrote at some length first of all to the Corinthians, forbidding schisms and heresies; next to the Galatians,

	romanis autē ordine scripturarum sed et principium earum . . . esse X ^m pm intimans	45
5	prolexius scripsit de quibus sincolis necesse est ad nobis desputari cum ipse beatus apostolus paulus sequens prodecessoris sui iohannis ordinē non nisi nomenatū semptē ecclesiis scribat ordine tali a corenthios	50
10	prima ad efesius seconda ad philippinses tertia ad colosensis quarta ad calatas quinta ad tensaolenecinsis sexta ad romanos septima uerum corintheis et thesaolecensibus licet pro correptione iteretur una	55
15	tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia deffusa esse denoscitur et iohannis enī in apocalipsy licet septē eccleseiis scribat tamen omnibus dicit verū ad filemonem una et at titū una et ad tymotheū duas pro affecto et dilectione in honore tamen ecclesiae catholice in ordinatione ecclesiasticae	60
20	discipline scificate sunt fertur etiam ad laudecenses alia ad alexandrinos pauli nomine fincte ad heresem marcionis et alia plura quae in catholicam ecclesiam recepi non potest fel enim cum melle misceri non con-	65
25	cruit epistola sane iude et superscriptio iohannis duas in catholica habentur et sapientia ab amicis salomonis in honorē ipsius scripta apocalapse etiam iohannis et petri tantum recipimus quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt pastorem uero	70
30	nuperrimē e temporibus nostris in urbe roma herma conscripsit sedente cathedra urbis romae aecclesiae pio ep̄s fratre	75

forbidding circumcision ; then to the Romans, impressing on them the plan of the Scriptures, and also that Christ is the first principle of them, concerning which severally it is [not] necessary for us to discuss, since the blessed Apostle Paul himself, following the order of his predecessor 5 John, writes only by name to seven churches in the following order—to the Corinthians a first, to the Ephesians a second, to the Philippians a third, to the Colossians a fourth, to the Galatians a fifth, to the Thessalonians a sixth, to the Romans a seventh ; whereas, although for 10 the sake of admonition there is a second to the Corinthians and to the Thessalonians, yet *one* Church is recognized as being spread over the entire world. For John too in the Apocalypse, though he writes to seven churches, yet speaks to all. Howbeit to Philemon one, to Titus one, 15 and to Timothy two were put in writing from personal inclination and attachment, to be in honour however with the Catholic Church for the ordering of the ecclesiastical mode of life. There is current also one to the Laodiceans, another to the Alexandrians, [both] forged in Paul's name 20 to suit the heresy of Marcion, and several others, which cannot be received into the Catholic Church ; for it is not fitting that gall be mixed with honey.

The Epistle of Jude no doubt, and the couple bearing the name of John, are accepted in the Catholic [Church] ; 25 and the Wisdom written by the friends of Solomon in his honour. The Apocalypse also of John, and of Peter [one Epistle, which] only we receive ; [there is also a second] ¹ which some of our friends will not have read in the Church. But the Shepherd was written quite lately in 30 our times by Hermas, while his brother Pius, the bishop, was sitting in the chair of the church of the city of Rome ;

¹ 1. 72 as restored in Greek by Zahn : Πέτρον [ἐπιστολὴ μία, ἣν] μόνην ἀποδεχόμεθα· [ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα] ἣν τινες κ.τ.λ.

eius et ideo legi eum quidē oportet se pu-
plicare vero in eclesia populo neque inter
profetas completum numero neque inter
apostolos in finē temporum potest

- 5 arsinoi autem seu ualentini uel mitiadis [?]
nihil in totum recipemus qui etiam nouū
psalmorum librum marcioni conscripse-
runt una cum basilide assianom catafry
cum constitutorem.

80

XXIII.

- 10 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν
διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφῇ ἐξήνεγκεν Εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου
καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμε-
λιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον,
Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ
15 ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε·
καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κη-
ρυσσόμενον Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. ἔπειτα
Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος
αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν
20 Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τρίτῳ τῆς εἰρημένης ὑποθέσεως τῷ
προδηλωθέντι [Εἰρηναίῳ] εἴρηται. ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ
περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς
περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου προσηγορίας οὕτω διαλαμβάνει·

- 25 Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς σπου-
δαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου
κειμένου, καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν
τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐωρακότων, καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς
ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν τῶν
30 Ἑλλήνων ψήφον διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνεται.

Καὶ ὑποκαταβὰς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φάσκει·

Ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ

and therefore it ought indeed to be read, but it cannot to the end of time be publicly read in the Church to the people, either among the prophets, who are complete in number, or among the Apostles.

But of Valentinus the Arsinoite and his friends¹ we receive nothing at all; who have also composed a long² new book of Psalms; together with Basilides and the Asiatic founder of the Montanists.

Origin of the Gospels.

MATTHEW published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching¹⁰ and founding the church in Rome. After their decease Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached; and Luke, the attendant of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel which Paul had declared. Afterwards¹⁵ John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on his bosom, published the Gospel, while staying at Ephesus in Asia.

[Irenaeus] states these things in the third book of his above-mentioned work. In the fifth book he speaks as²⁰ follows of the Apocalypse of John, and the number of the name of Antichrist:—

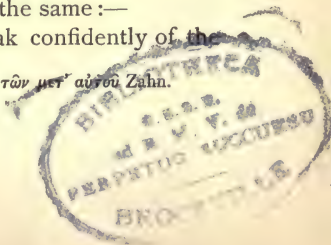
‘As these things are so, and this number is found in all the approved and ancient copies, and those who saw John face to face confirm it, and reason teaches us that the²⁵ number of the name of the beast, according to the mode of calculation among the Greeks, appears in its letters’ . . .

And farther on he says concerning the same:—

‘We are not bold enough to speak confidently of the

¹ 1. 81 = τοῦ δὲ Ἀρσινότου Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ Zahn.

² 1. 83 marcionī = μακρόν Zahn.



Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ
5 τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.

Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως ἱστορήται τῷ δεδηλωμένῳ. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης Ἐπιστολῆς, μαρτύρια ἐξ αὐτῆς πλείστα εἰσφέρον, ὁμοίως δὲ
10 καὶ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας. οὐ μόνον δὲ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδέχεται, τὴν τοῦ Ποιμένος γραφὴν, λέγων·

Καλῶς οὖν εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ ἡ λέγουσα, Ὁ Πρῶτον πάντων πιστευσον ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

15 Καὶ ῥητοῖς δέ τισιν ἐκ τῆς Σολομῶνος Σοφίας κέχρηται μονονουχὶ φάσκων· ὅρασις δὲ Θεοῦ περιποιητικὴ ἀφθαρσίας, ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ Θεοῦ· καὶ ἀπομνημονευμάτων δὲ ἀποστολικοῦ τινὸς πρεσβυτέρου, οὗ τοῦνομα σιωπῇ παρέδωκε, μνημονεύει, ἐξηγήσεις τε αὐτοῦ
20 θείων γραφῶν παρατίθεται. ἔτι καὶ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ Ἰγνατίου μνήμην πεποιήται, μαρτυρίαις αὐθις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τούτοις γραφέντων κεχρημένος. ἐπήγγελται δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίωνος συγγραμμάτων ἀντιλέξειν αὐτῷ ἐν ἰδίῳ σπουδάσματι.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* γ. 8.

XXIV.

25 Ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰρετικώτεροι τὴν φύσιν, Φρύγες τὸ γένος, προληφθέντες ὑπὸ γυναιῶν ἠπάτηνται, Πρισκίλλης τινὸς καὶ Μαξιμίλλης καλουμένων, ἃς προφήτιδας νομίζουσιν, ἐν ταύταις τὸ παράκλητον πνεῦμα κεχωρηκέναι λέγοντες, καὶ τινα πρὸ αὐτῶν Μοντανὸν ὁμοίως δοξάζουσιν
30 ὡς προφήτην, ὃν βίβλους ἀπείρους ἔχοντες πλανῶνται,

name of Antichrist. For if it were necessary that his name should be declared clearly at the present time, it would have been announced by him who saw the revelation. For it was seen, not long ago, but almost in our generation, toward the end of the reign of Domitian.' 5

These things concerning the Apocalypse are stated by the writer referred to. He also mentions the first Epistle of John, taking many proofs from it, and likewise the first Epistle of Peter. And he not only knows, but also receives, the Shepherd, writing as follows:— 10

'Well did the Scripture speak, saying, "First of all believe that God is one, who has created and completed all things,"' &c.

And he uses almost the precise words of the Wisdom of Solomon, saying, 'the vision of God produces immor- 15
tality, but immortality renders us near to God.' He mentions also the memoirs of a certain apostolic presbyter, whose name he passes by in silence, and gives his expositions of the sacred Scriptures. And he refers to Justin the Martyr, and to Ignatius, using quotations also from 20
their writings. Moreover, he promises to refute Marcion from his own writings, in a special work.

Montanism.

BUT there are others who are themselves in nature more heretical [than the Quartodecimans]. These are Phry-
gians by birth, and have been deceived through having 25
been overcome by womenkind, called a certain Priscilla and Maximilla, whom they hold for prophetesses, saying that the Comforter Spirit dwelt in them; and they likewise glorify one Montanus before them as a prophet. So
having endless books of these people they go astray, 30

μήτε τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν λελαλημένα λόγῳ κρίναντες, μήτε τοῖς κρίναι δυναμένοις προσέχοντες, ἀλλ' ἀκρίτως τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστει προσφέρονται, πλεῖόν τι δι' αὐτῶν φάσκοντες [ὥς] μεμαθηκέναι ἢ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν
 5 εὐαγγελίων. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀποστόλους καὶ πᾶν χάρισμα ταῦτα τὰ γύναια δοξάζουσιν, ὥς τολμᾶν πλεῖόν τι Χριστοῦ ἐν τούτοις λέγειν τινὰς αὐτῶν γεγονέναι. οὗτοι τὸν μὲν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων Θεὸν καὶ πάντων κτίστην ὁμοίως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ ὅσα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον περὶ τοῦ
 10 Χριστοῦ μαρτυρεῖ, καινίζουσι δὲ νηστείας καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ ξηροφαγίας καὶ ραφανοφαγίας φάσκοντες ὑπὸ τῶν γυναιῶν δεδιδάχθαι. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τῇ τῶν Νοητιανῶν αἵρέσει συντιθέμενοι τὸν Πατέρα αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν λέγουσι, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὸ γένεσιν καὶ πάθος καὶ θάνατον ἐληλυθέναι.

HIPPOLYTUS, *Ref. Omn. Haer.* viii. 19.

XXV.

15 Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρίνε, ἵνα πεφεισμένως εἶπω, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιоῦς γνώμης· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνά ἐστι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἀσέβειαν περιβάλλοντα τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτοῖς· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἵρετικοὶ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφῆνασθαί
 20 ποτε· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες, οὐ παρέδωκάν σοι. εἶδον γάρ σε παῖς ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκίμεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε
 25 διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἑναγχος γινομένων. αἱ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις συναύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνοῦνται αὐτῇ, ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους, καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ βίου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ

neither judging their statements by reason, nor heeding those that are able to judge, but behave without judgement in the faith they give them, saying that through them they have learned something more than from the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels. But they glorify 5 these womenkind above Apostles and every gift, so that some of them presume to say that there was something more in them than in Christ. These confess God the Father of the universe and creator of all things like the Church, and all that the Gospel witnesses concerning 10 Christ, but invent new fasts and feasts and meals of dry food and meals of radishes, saying that they were taught them by the womenkind. And some of them agree with the heresy of the Noëtians in saying that the Father is the same with the Son, and that this One became subject 15 to birth and suffering and death.

Letter of Irenaeus to Florinus.

THESE opinions, Florinus, that I may speak without harshness, are not of sound judgement; these opinions are not in harmony with the Church, but involve those adopting them in the greatest impiety; these opinions even 20 the heretics outside the pale of the Church have never ventured to broach; these opinions the elders before us, who also were disciples of the Apostles, did not hand down to thee. For I saw thee, when I was still a boy, in Lower Asia in company with Polycarp, while thou wast faring 25 prosperously in the royal court, and endeavouring to stand well with him. For I distinctly remember the incidents of that time better than events of recent occurrence; for the lessons received in childhood, growing with the growth of the soul, become identified with it; so that I can describe the 30 very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the

σώματος ιδέαν, καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ὡς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε, καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑωρακόντων τὸν Κύριον· καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, καὶ
 5 περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τίνα ἦν ἂ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν 'τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Λόγου' παρεληφώς ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς
 10 σπουδαίως ἤκουον, ὑπομνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐν χάρτῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμαρκῶμαι· καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει ἐκείνος ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνα-
 15 κράξας ἂν καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σύνθητες αὐτῷ εἰπών, 'ὦ καλὲ Θεέ, εἰς οἷους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι,' πεφεύγει ἂν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἢ ἐστὼς τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ἦτοι ταῖς
 20 γειννιώσαις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτάς, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισι, νουθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 20.

XXVI.

'Ημεῖς οὖν ἀραδιούργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε προστιθέντες, μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν
 25 Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται, ἃ τίνα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἀναστήσει πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱερὰ-
 πόλει, καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι
 30 καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι πολι-

discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord, and about his miracles, and about his 5 teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures. To these discourses I used to listen at the time with attention by God's mercy which was bestowed upon me, noting them down, not 10 on paper, but in my heart; and by the grace of God I constantly ruminate upon them faithfully. And I can testify in the sight of God, that if the blessed and Apostolic elder had heard anything of this kind, he would have cried out, and stopped his ears, and said after his wont, 15 'O good God, for what times hast Thou kept me, that I should endure such things?' and would even have fled from the place where he was sitting or standing when he heard such words. And indeed, this can be shown from his letters which he wrote either to the neighbouring 20 Churches for their confirmation, or to certain of the brethren for their warning and exhortation.

L.

Letter of Polycrates to Victor.

WE observe the exact day; neither adding, nor taking away. For in Asia also great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise again on the day of the Lord's coming, 25 when he shall come with glory from heaven, and shall raise up all the saints. Among these are Philip, one of the twelve Apostles, who fell asleep in Hierapolis; and his two daughters who grew old in virginity, and his other daughter who

τευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης
 ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς
 τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς, καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος· οὗτος
 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν
 5 Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς· καὶ Θρασέας καὶ
 ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενίας, ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοί-
 μηται. τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν Σάγαριν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα,
 ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται; ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παπεῖριον τὸν
 μακάριον, καὶ Μελίτωνα τὸν εὐνοῦχον, τὸν ἐν Ἀγίῳ
 10 Πνεύματι πάντα πολιτευσάμενον· ὃς κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσι
 περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἐν ᾗ ἐκ
 νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεται. οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέ-
 ραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης τοῦ Πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγ-
 γέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς
 15 πίστεως ἀκολουθοῦντες. ἔτι δὲ ἀγῶ ὁ μικρότερος πάν-
 των ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν
 μου, οἷς καὶ παρηκολούθησά τισιν αὐτῶν· ἐπτὰ μὲν ἦσαν
 συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος· καὶ πάντοτε τὴν
 ἡμέραν ἤγαγον οἱ συγγενεῖς μου, ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤρνηε τὴν
 20 ζύμην· ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν
 Κυρίῳ, καὶ συμβεβληκώς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης
 ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀγίαν γραφὴν διεληλυθώς, οὐ πτύ-
 ρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μείζονες
 εἰρήκασι, ‘πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις.’

Ibid. v. 24.

XXVII.

25 Κέρδων δέ τις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς
 λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιδημήσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ἔννατον
 κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων
 ἔχοντας, ἐδίδαξε τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκη-
 ρυγμένον Θεόν, μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ

lived in the Holy Spirit and rests at Ephesus; and, moreover, John, who was both a martyr and a teacher, who leaned upon the bosom of the Lord, and became a priest wearing the sacerdotal plate. He fell asleep at Ephesus. And Polycarp too in Smyrna, who was a bishop 5 and martyr; and Thraseas, bishop and martyr from Eumenia, who fell asleep in Smyrna. Why need I mention the bishop and martyr Sagaris who fell asleep in Laodicea, or the blessed Papirius, or Melito the eunuch, who lived altogether in the Holy Spirit, and who lies in 10 Sardis, awaiting the visitation from heaven, when he shall rise from the dead? All these observed the fourteenth day for the passover according to the Gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith. And I also, Polycrates, the least of you all, do according 15 to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have closely followed. For seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth. And my relatives always observed the day when the people put away the leaven. I, therefore, brethren, who have lived sixty-five years in the Lord, 20 and have met with the brethren throughout the world, and have gone through every holy scripture, am not affrighted by terrifying words. For those greater than I have said 'We ought to obey God rather than men.'

Marcion.

ONE Cerdon, who had taken his principles from the 25 school of Simon, and stayed in Rome in the time of Hyginus, who held the ninth place of the episcopal succession from the Apostles—he taught that the God preached by the law and prophets is not the Father of our Lord

Χριστοῦ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγνώτα
εἶναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν.

Διαδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικός, ἠῤῥησε
τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, ἀπηρυθριασμένως βλασφημῶν eum qui a
5 lege et prophetis annuntiatus est Deus; malorum factorem
et bellorum concupiscentem et inconstantem quoque
sententia et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens. Iesum autem
ab eo Patre, qui est super mundi fabricatorem Deum,
venientem in Iudaeam temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis,
10 qui fuit procurator Tiberii Caesaris, in hominis forma
manifestatum his, qui in Iudaea erant, dissolventem pro-
phetas et legem et omnia opera eius Dei, qui mundum
fecit, quem et Cosmocratorem dicit. Et super haec id
quod est secundum Lucam evangelium circumcidens et
15 omnia, quae sunt de generatione Domini conscripta,
auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens,
in quibus manifestissime conditorem huius universitatis
suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est; semet
ipsum esse veraciorem, quam sunt hi, qui evangelium
20 tradiderunt, apostoli, suasit discipulis suis, non evangelium,
sed particulam evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et
apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, auferens quaecunque
manifeste dicta sunt ab apostolo de eo Deo, qui mundum
fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et
25 quaecunque ex prophetis memorans apostolus docuit,
praenuntiantibus adventum Domini.

IRENAEUS, *Adv. Haer.* i. 27.

XXVIII.

TRADITIONEM itaque apostolorum in toto mundo mani-
festatam, in omni ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui
vera velint videre; et habemus annumerare eos, qui ab
30 apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et succes-

Jesus Christ; for the former is known, but the latter unknown, and the former is by nature righteous, but the other good. And Marcion of Pontus succeeding him developed the school, blaspheming shamelessly him who is proclaimed as God by the law and the prophets; calling him a maker of evils and a lover of wars, unsettled of purpose also, and inconsistent with himself. [He said] however that Jesus coming from the Father, who is above the God who made the world, into Judaea in the times of the governor Pontius Pilate, procurator of Tiberius Caesar, was manifested in the form of a man to those that were in Judaea, destroying the prophets and the law, and all the works of the God who made the world, whom he also calls Cosmocrator¹. Besides this, by mutilating the Gospel which is according to Luke, and removing all that refers to the generation of the Lord, and removing many passages of the teaching of the Lord's discourses, in which the Lord is recorded as very plainly confessing the framer of this universe to be his own Father, Marcion has persuaded his disciples that he is himself truer than those Apostles who delivered the Gospel; so he delivers to them not the Gospel, but a part of the Gospel. But likewise he has cut down also the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, removing all that is plainly said by the Apostle concerning the God that made the world, that *he* is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and all that the Apostle taught by quotation from the prophetic writings which foretold the coming of the Lord.

The Argument of Irenaeus from Tradition.

THE tradition therefore of the Apostles, manifested in the entire world, is a thing which all who wish to see facts can clearly perceive in every Church; and we are able to count up those who were by the Apostles appointed

¹ Eph. vi. 12.

sores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent apostoli, quae seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea
 5 quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes; quibus emendate agentibus fieret magna utilitas, lapsis autem summa calamitas.

10 Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximae et antiquissimae et omnibus cognitae, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romae fundatae et constitutae ecclesiae, eam, quam habet ab apostolis tradi-
 15 tionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sibi-placentiam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per caecitatem et malam sententiam, praeterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim
 20 ecclesiam propter potentiolem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quae est ab apostolis traditio.

Θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι
 25 ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. τούτου τοῦ Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται. διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος. μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ
 30 ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους καὶ συμβεβληκὼς αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι ἑναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων, οὐ μόνος· ἔτι γὰρ

bishops in the Churches, and the series of their successors to our own time, who neither taught nor knew anything resembling these men's dotage. For if the Apostles had known hidden mysteries which they used to teach the perfect apart from and without the knowledge of the rest, 5 they would deliver them to those especially to whom they were also committing the Churches themselves. For they desired them to be very perfect and blameless in all things, whom they were also leaving as their successors, delivering over to them their own proper seat of govern- 10 ment; for if these should act rightly, great advantage would result, but if they fell away, the most disastrous calamity. But since it would be very long in such a volume as this to count up the series of bishops in all the Churches, we confound all those who in any way, whether through 15 self-pleasing or vain glory, or through blindness and evil opinion meet for worship otherwise than they ought—by pointing out the tradition (which it has from the Apostles) of the most great and ancient and universally-known Church, founded and established at Rome by the two most 20 glorious Apostles Peter and Paul; and also the faith declared to men, which comes down to our own time through the successions of bishops. For unto this Church, on account of its more powerful lead, every Church, meaning the faithful who are from everywhere, must needs resort; 25 since in it that tradition which is from the Apostles has been preserved by those who are from everywhere.

The blessed Apostles having founded and established the Church, entrusted the office of the episcopate to Linus. Paul speaks of this Linus in his Epistles to Timothy. 30 Anencletus succeeded him, and after Anencletus, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement received the episcopate. He had seen and conversed with the blessed Apostles, and their preaching was still sounding in his ears, and their tradition was still before his eyes. Nor 35

πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδιδαγμένοι.
ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος στάσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τοῖς ἐν
Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ
ἐκκλησία ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην
5 συμβιβάζουσα αὐτούς, καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἦν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν εἰλήφει.

Τὸν δὲ Κλήμεντα τοῦτον διαδέχεται Εὐάρεστος· καὶ τὸν
Εὐάρεστον Ἀλέξανδρος· εἰθ' οὕτως ἕκτος ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀποστόλων καθίσταται Ἐύστος. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τελεσ-
10 φόρος, ὃς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν· ἔπειτα Ὑγίνος, εἴτα
Πῖος· μεθ' ὃν Ἀνίκητος. διαδεξαμένου τὸν Ἀνίκητον
Σωτήρος, νῦν δωδεκάτῳ τόπῳ τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλῆρον Ἐλεῦθερος. τῇ αὐτῇ
τάξει, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδαχῇ [διαδοχῇ], ἥ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο-
15 στόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας
κῆρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευ-
θεῖς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑω-
ρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν
20 Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ
ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ· (ἐπιπολὺ γὰρ
παρέμεινε, καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος, ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα
μαρτυρήσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου) ταῦτα διδάξας ἀεὶ, ἃ
καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἃ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία
25 παραδίδωσιν, ἃ καὶ μόνον ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ. μαρτυροῦσι
τούτοις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, καὶ οἱ
μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον, πολλῶ ἀξιο-
πιστότερον καὶ βεβαιότερον ἀληθείας μάρτυρα ὄντα
Οὐάλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακογνω-
30 μόνων. ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ,
πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἵρετικῶν ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μίαν καὶ μόνην ταύτην ἀλήθειαν
κηρύξας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρειληφέναι, τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς

was he alone in this, for many who had been taught by the Apostles yet survived. In the times of Clement, a serious dissension having arisen among the brethren in Corinth, the Church of Rome sent a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, reconciling them in peace, renewing their 5 faith, and proclaiming the doctrine lately received from the Apostles.

Evarestus succeeded Clement, and Alexander Evarestus. Then Xystus, the sixth from the Apostles, was appointed. After him Telesphorus, who suffered martyrdom gloriously; 10 then Hyginus; then Pius; and after him Anicetus; Soter succeeded Anicetus; and now, in the twelfth place from the Apostles, Eleutherus holds the office of bishop. In the same order and succession the tradition in the Church and the preaching of the truth has descended from the 15 Apostles unto us.

But Polycarp also was not only instructed by Apostles, and familiar with many that had seen Christ, but was also appointed by Apostles in Asia bishop of the Church of Smyrna. We too saw him in our early youth; for 20 he lived a long time, and died, when a very old man, a glorious and most illustrious martyr's death, having always taught the things which he had learned from the Apostles, which the Church also hands down, and which alone are true. To these things all the Asiatic Churches 25 testify, as do also those who, down to the present time, have succeeded Polycarp, who was a much more trustworthy and certain witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and the rest of the evil-minded. He was also in Rome in the time of Anicetus and caused many to turn 30 away from the above-mentioned heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received from the Apostles this one and only system of truth which has been trans-

ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην. καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ, ὅτι Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητής, ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι, καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον, ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπὼν· Φύγωμεν, 5 μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου, τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίῳνι ποτὲ εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι· Ἐπιγινώσκεις ἡμᾶς; ἀπεκρίθη· Ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ. τοσαύτην οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ 10 μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν ἔσχον εὐλάβειαν, πρὸς τὸ μὴδὲ μέχρι λόγου κοινωνεῖν τινι τῶν παραχαρασσόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὥς καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν· Αἰρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, καὶ ἀμαρτάνει, ὦν αὐτοκατάκριτος. ἔστι δὲ 15 ἐπιστολὴ Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους γεγραμμένη ἱκανωτάτῃ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ βουλόμενοι καὶ φροντίζοντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας δύνανται μαθεῖν.

Ibid. iii. 3.

XXIX.

Ὡς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγουσι, τότε καὶ οἱ μὲν καταξι- 20 ωθέντες τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διατριβῆς, ἐκεῖσε χωρήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς ἀπολαύσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς πόλεως καθέξουσιν· πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ ὁραθήσεται, [καὶ] καθὼς ἄξιοι ἔσονται οἱ ὁρῶντες αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ τὴν διαστολὴν ταύτην τῆς οἰκήσεως τῶν 25 τὰ ἑκατὸν καρποφορούντων καὶ τῶν τὰ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τῶν τὰ τριάκοντα· ὦν οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀναληφθή-

mitted by the Church. And there are those that heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out of the bath-house without bathing, crying, 'Let us flee, lest even the bath-house fall, because Cerinthus, the enemy of 5 the truth, is within.' And Polycarp himself, when Marcion once met him and said, 'Knowest thou us?' replied, 'I know the first-born of Satan.' Such caution did the Apostles and their disciples exercise that they might not even converse with any of those who perverted the truth; 10 as Paul also said, 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.' There is also a very powerful epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those that wish to do so, 15 and that are concerned for their own salvation, may learn the character of his faith and the preaching of the truth.

A. N. L.

A Tradition of the Elders.

As the Elders say, then also shall they which have been deemed worthy of the abode in heaven go thither, while others shall enjoy the delight of paradise, and others 20 again shall possess the brightness of the city; for in every place the Saviour shall be seen, according as they shall be worthy who see Him. They say moreover that this is the distinction between the habitation of them that bring forth a hundred-fold, and them that bring forth sixty-fold, 25 and them that bring forth thirty-fold; of whom the first

σονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ διατρίψουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατοικήσουσιν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου μονὰς εἶναι πολλάς. τὰ πάντα γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃς τοῖς πᾶσι τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν οἰκῇσιν
 5 παρέχει. Ibid. v. 36.

XXX.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην Ἑλλήσιν ἀναγκαία φιλοσοφία, νυνὶ δὲ χρησὶμη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν γίνεται, προπαιδεῖα τις οὖσα τοῖς τὴν πίστιν δι' ἀποδείξεως καρπουμένοις, ὅτι 'ὁ πούς
 10 σου' φησὶν 'οὐ μὴ προσκόψῃ,' ἐπὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν τὰ καλὰ ἀναφέροντος, ἐάν τε Ἑλληνικὰ ἢ ἐάν τε ἡμέτερα. πάντων μὲν γὰρ αἴτιος τῶν καλῶν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν κατὰ προηγούμενον ὡς τῆς τε διαθήκης τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἐπακολούθημα ὡς τῆς φιλοσοφίας.
 15 τάχα δὲ καὶ προηγούμενως τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐδόθη τότε πρὶν ἢ τὸν Κύριον καλέσαι καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ἐπαιδαγωγῶν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὡς ὁ νόμος τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς Χριστόν. προπαρασκευάζει τοίνυν ἡ φιλοσοφία προοδοποιούσα τὸν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τελειούμενον. . . . μία μὲν οὖν
 20 ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδός, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν καθάπερ εἰς ἀέναον ποταμὸν ἐκρέουσι τὰ ρεῖθρα ἄλλα ἄλλοθεν.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Strom.* i. 5, p. 331.

XXXI.

Ὁ τοίνυν μετριοπαθήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ εἰς ἀπάθειαν μελετήσας αὐξήσας τε εἰς εὐποίαν γνωστικῆς τελειότητος ἰσαγγελος μὲν ἐνταῦθα, φωτεινὸς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος
 25 λάμπων κατὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν σπεύδει τῇ γνώσει τῇ δικαίᾳ δι' ἀγάπης Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν μονήν.

Ibid. vi. 13, p. 792.

shall be taken up into the heavens, and the second shall dwell in paradise, and the third shall inhabit the city; and that therefore our Lord has said, In my Father's abode are many mansions; for all things are of God, Who giveth to all their appropriate dwelling. L. 5

Philosophy a preparation for the Gospel.

PHILOSOPHY then before the coming of the Lord was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness, but now it is profitable for piety, seeing that it is a sort of training for those who by means of demonstration have the enjoyment of faith, for 'thy foot shall not stumble,' says he, if thou 10 refer good things to providence, whether they be Greek or Christian. For God is the cause of all good things, but of some primarily, as of the old and new covenants, and of others indirectly, as of philosophy. Peradventure also it was given primarily to the Greeks in times before 15 the Lord called also the Greeks; for this was a school-master to the Greek world as the law was to the Hebrews to bring them unto Christ. Philosophy therefore is a preparation, making ready the way for him who is being perfected by Christ. . . . The way then of truth is 20 one; but into it as into a never-failing river flow the streams from all sides.

The true Gnostic.

HE then who has first moderated his passions and trained himself for impassibility, and developed to the beneficence of gnostic perfection, is here equal to the 25 angels. Luminous already, and like the sun shining in the exercise of beneficence, he speeds by righteous knowledge through the love of God to the holy mansion.

XXXII.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν πίστις σύντομός ἐστιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῶν κατ-
 επειγόντων γνῶσις, ἡ γνῶσις δὲ ἀπόδειξις τῶν διὰ πίστεως
 παρειλημμένων ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαιος διὰ τῆς κυριακῆς δι-
 δασκαλίας ἐποικοδομουμένη τῇ πίστει εἰς τὸ ἀμετάπτωτον
 5 καὶ μετ' ἐπιστήμης καταληπτικὸν παραπέμπουσα. καὶ
 μοι δοκεῖ πρώτη τις εἶναι μεταβολὴ σωτήριος ἡ ἐξ ἔθνων
 εἰς πίστιν, ὡς προεῖπον, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ ἐκ πίστεως εἰς
 γνῶσιν· ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀγάπην περαιουμένη ἐνθένδε ἤδη φίλον
 φίλῳ τὸ γινώσκον τῷ γινωσκομένῳ παρίστησιν. καὶ
 10 τάχα ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐνθένδε ἤδη προλαβὼν ἔχει τὸ ἰσάγγελος
 εἶναι. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ τελευταίαν ὑπεροχὴν αἰεὶ
 κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν
 πατρώαν αὐλήν ἐπὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ὄντως διὰ τῆς ἀγίας
 ἐβδομάδος ἐπείγεται μονήν, ἐσόμενος, ὡς εἰπεῖν, φῶς ἐστὸς
 15 καὶ μένον αἰδῶς, πάντῃ πάντως ἄτρεπτον.

Ibid. vii. 10, p. 865.

XXXIII.

Κὰν τολμήσωσι προφητικαῖς χρήσασθαι γραφαῖς καὶ
 οἱ τὰς αἰρέσεις μετιόντες πρῶτον μὲν οὐ πάσαις, ἔπειτα
 οὐ τελείαις οὐδὲ ὡς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ὕφος τῆς προφητείας
 ὑπαγορεύει, ἀλλ' ἐκλεγόμενοι τὰ ἀμφιβόλως εἰρημένα εἰς
 20 τὰς ἰδίας μετάγουσι δόξας, ὀλίγας σποράδην ἀπανθιζό-
 μενοι φωνάς, οὐ τὸ σημαινόμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν σκοποῦντες,
 ἀλλ' αὐτῇ ψιλῇ ἀποχρώμενοι τῇ λέξει. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐν
 πᾶσιν οἷς προσφέρονται ῥητοῖς εὖροις ἂν αὐτοὺς ὡς τοῖς
 ὀνόμασι μόνοις προσανέχουσι τὰ σημαινόμενα ὑπαλλάτ-
 25 τοντες, οὐθ' ὡς λέγονται γινώσκοντες οὐθ' ὡς ἔχειν
 πεφύκασιν χρώμενοι, αἷς καὶ δὴ κομίζουσιν ἐκλογαῖς.

Ibid. vii. 16, p. 891.

Faith and Knowledge.

FAITH is then, so to speak, a compendious knowledge of the essentials ; and knowledge is the strong and sure demonstration of what is received by faith, built upon faith by the Lord's teaching, conveying [the soul] on to unchangeableness, and scientific comprehension. And, in 5 my view, the first saving change is that from heathenism to faith, as I said before ; and the second, that from faith to knowledge. And the latter terminating in love, here in this life introduces as friend to friend, that which knows to that which is known. And, perchance, such an one has 10 already attained the condition of 'being equal to the angels.' At any rate, after the highest excellence in the flesh, changing always duly to the better, he hastens to the ancestral hall, through the holy Hebdomad to the Lord's own mansion ; to be, so to say, a light, steady, and con- 15 tinuing eternally, entirely and in every part immutable.

Misuse of Scripture by Heretics.

AND if those also who follow heresies venture to avail themselves of the prophetic Scriptures ; in the first place they will not make use of all the Scriptures, and then they will not quote them entire, nor as the body and texture of 20 the prophecy prescribe. But, selecting ambiguous expressions, they wrest them to their own opinions, gathering a few expressions here and there ; not looking to the sense, but making use of the mere diction. For in almost all the quotations they make, you will find that they attend to the 25 words alone, while they alter the meanings ; neither knowing how they are spoken, nor using the quotations they do bring according to their natural meaning.

XXXIV.

UT de origine aliquid retractemus eiusmodi legum, vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus. Scit M. Aemilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud
5 vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensatur. Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit; homo iam deo propitius esse debet. Tiberius ergo, cuius tempore nomen Christianum in saeculum introivit, annuntiatum sibi ex Syria Palaestina, quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat,
10 detulit ad senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit; Caesar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae
15 orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum. Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate; sed qua et homo, facile coeptum repressit,
20 restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Tales semper nobis insecutores, iniusti, impii, turpes, quos et ipsi damnare consuestis, et a quibus damnatos restituere soliti estis. Ceterum de tot exinde principibus, usque ad hodiernum divinum humanumque sapientibus, edite aliquem debellatorem Christianorum. At nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris

Bad Emperors the only Persecutors.

To say something of the origin of laws of that sort. There was an old decree, that no god should be consecrated by any general without the approval of the Senate. M. Aemilius found it out with his god Alburnus. This too helps our case, that with you divinity depends on 5 human judgement. Unless a god pleases men, he shall not be a god at all—man will positively have to be propitious to his god. Tiberius then, in whose time the Christian name came into the world, referred to the Senate the news which had reached himself from Palestine of the 10 events which had revealed the truth of Christ's divinity, with the recommendation of his own vote in favour of it. The Senate refused, because it had not itself approved. Caesar held to his opinion, and threatened punishment to the accusers of Christians. Consult your own records. 15 There you will find that Nero was the first who raged with the imperial sword against our sect, just when it was coming into notice at Rome. But we are proud indeed of having such a man to inaugurate our condemnation ; for any one who knows him can understand that what 20 Nero condemned cannot but have been something very good indeed. Domitian tried it too, another Nero for cruelty ; but as having some humanity too, he soon stopped his effort, and even restored those whom he had exiled. Our persecutors are always men of this sort, unrighteous, 25 impious and shameful ; men whose memory even you are used to brand with infamy, whose judicial victims it is your custom to restore. However, out of all the emperors from that time to the present who have tasted of divine and human wisdom, name a single one as an antagonist 30 of Christians ! Nay, we, on the contrary, name one as a protector, if you will call for the letter of the grave and reverend emperor M. Aurelius, in which he bears witness

requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Qui sicut non palam ab eiusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adiecta
 5 etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Quales ergo leges istae, quas adversus nos soli exsequuntur impii, iniusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianorum; quas nullus Hadrianus, quamquam curiositatum omnium
 10 explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quamquam Iudaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit.

TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* 5.

XXXV.

VULTIS ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus, quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur, vultis ex animae ipsius testimonio
 15 comprobemus? Quae licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus ac concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis diis exancillata, cum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, deum nominat, hoc
 20 solo nomine, quia proprio dei veri: deus magnus, deus bonus, et quod deus dederit, omnium vox est. Iudicem quoque contestatur illum, deus videt, et deo commendo, et deus mihi reddet. O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae! Denique pronuntians haec, non ad Capito-
 25 lium, sed ad coelum respicit. Novit enim sedem dei vivi; ab illo, et inde descendit.

Ibid. 17.

that the great drought in Germany was removed by a shower of rain obtained by the prayers of Christians who chanced to be serving in the army. As on one side he did not openly free such men from the penalties of law, so on the other he openly made these of none effect, imposing 5 also a sentence, and that a severer one, on their accusers. What sort of laws then are these, which are put in force against us only by the impious, the unrighteous, the shameful, the savage, the senseless, the demented—laws which Trajan partly defeated by forbidding Christians' to 10 be sought out, which neither a Hadrian, though so curious a student of every novelty, nor a Vespasian, conqueror of the Jews as he was, nor a Pius, nor a Verus ever enforced?

Testimony of the Soul.

WILL you have our proof from his works in all their 15 magnitude and number, which contain or sustain us, which delight us or again dismay us; or will you have it from the witness of the soul itself? Though it be shut up in the prison of the body, though it be limited by evil customs, though it be enervated by lusts and longings, though it be 20 a slave to false gods, yet when it comes to itself as after a debauch or after sleep or after a sickness, and feels its proper health, it makes mention of God, and by that name only, for it is peculiar to the true God. 'God is great,' 'God is good,' 'which may God grant,' are all men's 25 words. It appeals also to Him as judge—'God sees,' 'I commend to Him,' and 'God will repay me.' O testimony of the soul by nature Christian! Finally, in using these words, it looks up not to the Capitol but to heaven, for it recognizes the throne of the living God. From Him it is, 30 and thence came down.

XXXVI.

EST et alia maior necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausulam seculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Roman
5 mani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Ita quae nolumus experiri, ea dum precamur differri, Romanae diuturnitati favemus. Sed et iuramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios daemonas dici, et inde diminutiva voce
10 daemonia? Nos iudicium dei suspicimus in imperatoribus qui gentibus illos praefecit.

Ibid. 32.

XXXVII.

HESTERNI sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis reliquimus
15 templa. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissetus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere? Potuimus et inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si
20 enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissemus a vobis, suffudisset pudore utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium, imo etiam et ipsa destitutione punisset.

Ibid. 37.

Christians not disloyal.

WE are under another and a greater need of praying for the emperors, and further for the good estate of the Empire and the interests of Rome, knowing as we do that a mighty shock impending over the entire world and the end of the age itself with the fearful calamities it threatens ⁵ are delayed by the respite which the Roman Empire gives. Thus when we pray for those things to be put off which we do not wish ourselves to experience, we are in favour of the long endurance of Rome. Furthermore, even as we do not swear by the genii of the Caesars, so we do swear ¹⁰ by their health, which is more august than all the genii. Do you not know that the genii are called *daemones*, and thence by the diminutive word *daemonia*? We in the emperors look up to the judgement of God, who has set them over the nations.

15

Numbers of the Christians.

WE are men of yesterday; yet we have filled all your places of resort—cities, lodging-houses, villages, towns, markets, even the camp, tribes, town-councils, palace, senate, forum; we have left you nothing but your temples. For what war should not we have been fit and ready, ²⁰ though with unequal forces, who are so willing to be slaughtered, if according to our teaching it were not better to be killed than to kill? We could have fought against you even without arms, yet without rebellion, simply by the civil discord of an unfriendly separation. For if such ²⁵ a force of men as we had broken off from you to some far corner of the world, your empire would undoubtedly have been put to shame by the loss of so many citizens of whatever sort, or rather actual bankruptcy would have been your punishment.

30

XXXVIII.

CORPUS sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinae unitate et spei foedere. Coimus in coetum et congregationem, ut ad deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus. Haec vis deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro
5 imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu saeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Cogimur ad litterarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus,
10 spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus; ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura divina. Nam et iudicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de dei conspectu, summumque futuri iudicii praeiudicium est, si quis
15 ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Praesident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti; neque enim pretio ulla res dei constat. Etiam si quod arcae genus est, non de honoraria summa, quasi
20 redemptae religionis congregatur; modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit et si modo possit, apponit: nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. Haec quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde non epulis nec potaculis, nec ingratis voratrinis dispen-
25 satur, sed egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, iamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis, vel in custodiis, dumtaxat ex causa dei sectae, alumni confessionis suae fiunt.

Christian Worship.

WE are made a body by common religious feeling, unity of discipline, and the bond of hope. We come together in a meeting and assembly, that we may as it were form a troop, and so in prayer to God beset Him with our supplications. This violence is well-pleasing to God. We pray 5 also for emperors, for their ministers and for them that are in power, for the welfare of the world, for peace therein, for the delay of the end. We meet together for the reading of the divine writings, if the character of the times compels us in any way to forewarning or reminder. 10 However that may be, with the holy words we nourish our faith, lift up our hope, confirm our confidence, and no less make strong our discipline by impressing the precepts. At these meetings we have also exhortations, rebukes, and a Divine censorship. For judgement also is executed 15 with much gravity, as before men who are sure that they are in the sight of God; and it is a notable foretaste of judgement to come if a man has so sinned as to be banished from the communion of our prayer and meeting and all holy intercourse. Our presidents are the approved elders, obtain- 20 ing that honour not for a price, but by attested character; for indeed the things of God are not sold for a price. Even if there is a sort of common fund, it is not made up of money paid in fees, as for a worship by contract. Each of us puts in a trifle on the monthly day, or when he 25 pleases; but only if he pleases, and only if he is able, for no man is obliged, but contributes of his own free will. These are as it were deposits of piety; for it is not paid out thence for feasts and drinkings and thankless eating-houses, but for feeding and burying the needy, for boys and 30 girls deprived of means and parents, for old folk now confined to the house: also for them that are shipwrecked, for any who are in the mines, and for any who in the islands or in the prisons, if only it be for the cause of God's people, become the nurslings of their own confession. 35

XXXVIII A.

DENIQUE ut a baptisate ingrediar, aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur, nos renuntiare diabolo et pompae et angelis eius. Dehinc ter mergitamur amplius aliquid
 5 respondentes quam dominus in evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus¹, exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem abstinemus. Eucharistiae sacramentum, et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a domino, etiam antelucanis
 10 coetibus, nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus. Die dominico ieiunium nefas ducimus vel geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschae in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam
 15 nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur.

Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus.
 20 Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules scripturarum, nullam invenies; traditio tibi praetendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, et fides observatrix.

Id. *De Corona Mil.* 3, 4.

XXXIX.

IPSAE denique haereses a philosophia subornantur. Inde
 25 aeones et formae, nescio quae, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum: Platonius fuerat. Inde Marcionis deus melior de tranquillitate: a Stoicis venerat. Et uti anima interire dicatur, ab Epicureis observatur; et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium philosophorum schola

¹ *Apol.* 9. Non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad deum praegustetur.

Non-scriptural Customs.

[FOR customs not prescribed in Scripture, but sanctioned by usage,] I will begin with baptism. Before we enter the water we make our protest, both on the spot and a little before in the church and under the bishop's hand, that we renounce the devil, his pomp and his angels. Thereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat longer answer than the Lord prescribed in the Gospel. Thence we are received (by sponsors), and taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey; and from that day we abstain from our daily bath for a whole week. The sacrament also of Thanksgiving, which the Lord delivered at a meal time and to all of us, we receive in meetings before daybreak, but from the hand of none but our presidents. On the proper day of the year we make our offerings for the dead and for the 'birthdays' (of martyrs). On the Lord's day we count it unlawful to fast or to worship on our knees; and in the same privilege we rejoice from Easter Day till Pentecost. Of this cup, aye, and of this bread of ours, we are careful that none be cast on the ground. At every step and advance, in all our going out and coming in, when we dress and put on our shoes, at the bath and at the table, when we light our lamps, or go to bed, or take a seat, in every action of our lives, we sign our forehead with the cross. For these and the like observances, if you ask for the Scripture rule, there is none for you to read. You will be told, Tradition has originated, Custom has sanctioned, Loyalty observes them.

R.

Philosophy the Mother of Heresy.

FINALLY the heresies themselves are equipped by philosophy. Thence came the aeons, the—I know not what—infinite forms, and the trinity of man taught by Valentinus: he had been a Platonist. Thence came Marcion's better god, the better for his tranquillity: he had come from the Stoics. The statement that the soul dies is a note taken from the Epicureans, and the denial of the restoration of the flesh is assumed from the entire school of all the philosophers.

sumitur; et ubi materia cum deo aequatur, Zenonis disciplina est; et ubi aliquid de igneo deo allegatur, Heraclitus intervenit. Eaedem materiae apud haereticos et philosophos volutantur; iidem retractatus implicantur: unde malum, et quare? et unde homo, et quomodo? et quod proxime Valentinus proposuit: unde deus? scilicet de enthymesi et ectromate.

Id. de Praescr. 7.

XL.

(APOSTOLUS prohibet) haereticum post unam correptionem convenire, non post disputationem. Adeo inter- dixit disputationem . . . quoniam nihil proficiat congressio scripturarum, nisi plane aut stomachi quis ineat eversionem aut cerebri . . .

Ergo non ad scripturas provocandum est. . . . Nunc solum disputandum est, quibus competat fides ipsa cujus sint scripturae, a quo, per quos et quando, et quibus sit tradita disciplina, qua fiunt Christiani. . . .

Christus Jesus . . . undecim . . . jussit ire et docere nationes . . . statim igitur apostoli . . . ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinae ceterae exinde ecclesiae mutuatae sunt et quotidie mutantur, ut ecclesiae fiant. Ac per hoc et ipsae apostolicae deputabuntur ut soboles apostolicarum ecclesiarum. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot ac tantae ecclesiae una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primae et omnes apostolicae, dum una omnes probant unitate communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quae iura non alia ratio regit, quam eiusdem sacramenti una traditio.

Where matter is made equal to God, it is the teaching of Zeno; and where anything is stated about a god of fire, it is Heraclitus who comes in. We have the same subjects repeatedly discussed by heretics and philosophers with the same complicated reconsiderations. Whence is evil, and why? Whence is man, and how? and—the very latest problem of Valentinus—whence is God? From *enthymesis* and *ectroma*, no doubt.

The Argument of Tertullian from Tradition.

It is after a single rebuke, not after a discussion, that the Apostle forbids us to converse with a heretic. Discussion then he has forbidden . . . for (amongst other reasons) a debate over Scripture plainly does no good, unless it be to disturb either temper or brains. . . . Therefore we must not appeal to Scripture. . . . The only question we just now have to discuss is, With whom is that very faith to which Scripture belongs? From whom, through whom, when and to whom was the rule delivered by which men become Christians?

Christ Jesus . . . commanded the Eleven to go and teach the nations . . . straightway therefore the Apostles . . . founded in the several cities Churches from which the rest have thenceforth borrowed and daily borrow the shoot of faith and seeds of teaching, in order that they may become Churches; and it is from this fact that they too will be counted Apostolic, as the offspring of Apostolic Churches. Every kind of thing must be estimated by reference back to its origin. Therefore the Churches, whatever their size or number, form but the single primitive Church which comes from the Apostles, and its offspring are they all. Thus they are all primitive and all Apostolic, since they are all approved together by their union in the communion of peace, the title of brotherhood, and the interchange of hospitality—rights which are governed by no other rule than the single tradition of the same mystery in all. Here then we enter

Hinc igitur dirigimus praescriptionem, si dominus Iesus Christus apostolos misit ad praedicandum, alios non esse recipiendos praedicatores, quam quos Christus instituit. . . . Si haec ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, 5 quae cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis, matricibus et originalibus fidei, conspiret, veritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem, quod ecclesiae ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a deo accepit; reliquam vero omnem doctrinam de mendacio praeiudicandam, quae sapiat contra veritatem 10 ecclesiarum et apostolorum et Christi et dei.

Ibid. 16-21.

XLI.

Non omittam ipsius etiam conversationis haereticae descriptionem, quam futilis, quam terrena, quam humana sit, sine gravitate, sine auctoritate, sine disciplina, ut fidei suae congruens. Inprimis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, 15 incertum est; pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant, etiam ethnici, si supervenerint; sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, iactabunt. Simpliciter volunt esse prostrationem disciplinae, cuius penes nos curam lenocinium vocant. Pacem quoque passim cum omnibus 20 miscent. Nihil enim interest illis, licet diversa tractantibus, dum ad unius veritatis expugnationem conspirent. Omnes scientiam pollicentur. Ante sunt perfecti catechumeni, quam edocti. Ipsae mulieres haereticae, quam procaces! quae audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tingere. Ordinationes 25 eorum temperariae, leves, inconstantes. Nunc neophytos collocant, nunc saeculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros,

our demurrer, that if the Lord Christ Jesus sent Apostles to preach, other than those whom Christ appointed ought not to be received as preachers. . . . If these things be so, it is in the same way plain that all teaching which agrees with those Apostolic Churches which are the wombs and 5 origins of the faith must be ascribed to the truth, such teaching doubtless containing that which the Churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God, whereas all other teaching must be summarily set down as false, since its tenor is opposed to the 10 truth of the Churches and Apostles, and Christ and God.

Disorderly Worship of Heretics.

I WILL not leave out a description of the conduct also of the heretics—how empty it is, how earthly, how merely human, without sobriety, without impressiveness, without discipline—as suits their faith. In the first place, who is 15 catechumen and who faithful, is doubtful. They all come up alike, all hear, all pray alike—heathens too, if they come in. That which is holy they will cast to the dogs, and their pearls (though they are but shams) to the swine. They will have it that simplicity means the destruction of 20 discipline, and the care of it with us they call pandering. Peace, too, they mix up at random with all comers; for with all their differences of thinking they care for nothing so long as they are agreed on assailing the one single Truth. They all promise knowledge. The catechumens 25 are perfect before they are fully taught. The very women of the heretics—how pert they are! For they have the impudence to teach to wrangle, to perform exorcisms, to undertake healings, possibly even to baptize. Their ordinations are random, capricious, unsettled. Sometimes 30 they appoint novices, sometimes secular officials, sometimes renegades of ours, in order to bind them by vain-

ut gloria eos obligent, quia veritate non possunt. Nusquam facilius proficitur, quam in castris rebellium, ubi ipsum esse illic, promereri est. Itaque alius hodie episcopus, cras alius; hodie diaconus, qui cras lector; hodie
5 presbyter, qui cras laicus; nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera iniungunt.

Ibid. 41.

XLII.

AUDIO etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet Maximus, episcopus episcoporum edicit: Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta
10 poenitentia functis dimitto. O edictum, cui adscribi non poterit: Bonum factum! Et ubi proponetur liberalitas ista? Ibidem, opinor, in ipsis libidinum ianuis, sub ipsis libidinum titulis. Illic eiusmodi poenitentia promulganda est, ubi delinquentia ipsa versabitur. Illic legenda est
15 venia, quo cum spe eius intrabitur. Sed hoc in ecclesia legitur, et in ecclesia pronuntiatur, et virgo est.

Id. De Pudicit. 1.

XLIII.

RECENSEAMUS nunc cetera pericula et vulnera, ut dixi, fidei ab apostolo provisa non carnis tantum verum etiam ipsius spiritus molestissima. . . . Domino certe non potest
20 pro disciplina satisfacere, habens in latere diaboli servum, procuratorem domini sui ad impedienda fidelium studia et officia: ut si statio facienda est, maritus de die condicat ad balneas; si ieiunia observanda sunt, maritus eadem die convivium exerceat; si procedendum erit, nunquam magis

glory, for by truth they cannot. Nowhere is promotion easier than in the camp of rebels, where the mere fact of being there is a merit. Thus one man is bishop to-day, another to-morrow: he is deacon to-day who to-morrow is reader, and he is presbyter to-day who to-morrow is lay-⁵ man; for even on laymen they impose priestly functions.

The Roman Bishop's Edict.

I HEAR also that an edict has been issued, and that a decisive one. The sovereign Pontiff forsooth, the bishop of bishops puts forth his edict. 'I,' says he, 'to them that have done penitence remit the sins of both ¹⁰ adultery and fornication.' What an edict it is, to which we cannot add Well done! And where shall that gracious message be posted up? On the very spot, I suppose—on the very door-posts of lust, beneath the advertisements themselves of lust. *There* ought penitence ¹⁵ of that sort to be published, where the offence itself shall dwell. *There* ought the pardon to be read, where men enter in the hope of it. But this—in the Church it is read, and in the Church pronounced, and—she is a virgin!

Inconveniences of a mixed Marriage.

LET us now recount the other dangers and wounds, as ²⁰ I said, of faith foreseen by the Apostle as not to the flesh only, but likewise even to the spirit very grievous. . . . Without doubt she cannot satisfy the Lord according to discipline, when she has at her side a servant of the devil, an agent of *his* lord to hinder the works and duties of ²⁵ believers; so that if there is a meeting to attend, her husband the first thing in the morning makes her an appointment for the baths; if there are fasts to be observed, her husband that same day gives a dinner; if she has to go out [on charitable errands], never is household ³⁰

familiae occupatio obveniat. Quis enim sinat coniugem suam visitandorum fratrum gratia viciatim aliena et quidem pauperiora quaeque tuguria circuire? quis nocturnis convocationibus, si ita oportuerit, a latere suo adimi libenter
 5 feret? quis denique sollemnibus Paschae abnoctantem securus sustinebit? quis ad convivium dominicum illud quod infamant sine sua suspicione dimittet? quis in carcerem ad osculanda vincula martyris reptare patietur? Iam vero alicui fratrum ad osculum convenire? aquam
 10 sanctorum pedibus offerre? de cibo, de poculo invadere, desiderare, in mente habere? si et peregre frater adveniat, quod in aliena domo hospitium? si cui largiendum erit, horreum, proma praeclusa sunt. . . . Moratur dei ancilla cum laboribus alienis, et inter illos omnibus honoribus
 15 daemonum, omnibus sollemnibus regum, incipiente anno, incipiente mense, nidore thuris agitabitur. Et procedet de ianua laureata et lucernata, ut de novo consistorio libidinum publicarum; discumbet cum marito in sodalitiis, saepe in popinis; et ministrabit nonnunquam iniquis, solita
 20 quondam sanctis ministrare; et non hinc praeiudicium damnationis suae agnoscet, eos observans, quos erat iudicatura¹?

Id. *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 3-6.

XLIV.

NAM iste primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romae, homo et alias inquietus, insuper de iactatione
 25 martyrii inflatus ob solum et simplex et breve carceris taedium, quando, etsi corpus suum tradidisset exurendum,

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 2.

business more in the way. For who would let his wife go round from street to street to other men's houses, and indeed to all the poorer cottages, for the sake of visiting the brethren? Who will willingly allow her to be taken from his side for nocturnal meetings, if her duty be so? 5 Who in short will bear without anxiety her absence all night for the ceremonial of Easter? Who will let her go without suspicion of his own to that Lord's Supper which they defame? Who will suffer her to creep into a prison to kiss a martyr's bonds? or indeed to meet one of the 10 brethren for the kiss? to offer water for the feet of the saints? to seize [for them] from her food or from her cup, to long for them, to keep them in mind? If a brother on a journey come, what welcome is there for him in an alien house? If there is a case for liberality, the granary and 15 the larder are shut up. . . . The handmaid of God dwells with alien labours, and amongst them she will be persecuted with the odour of incense at all the festivals of demons, all the ceremonials of kings, the beginning of the year, the beginning of the month. She will come forth 20 too from a laurelled gateway hung with lanterns as from some new abode of public lusts. She will dine with her husband in clubs, often in taverns, and sometimes she will minister to the unjust, who was used to minister to saints; and will she not recognize in this a sentence that carries 25 her damnation, as she attends on those whom she was to judge hereafter?

The Misdeeds of Praxeas.

FOR Praxeas it was who first imported from Asia to Rome this kind of perversity—a man in other ways unquiet, and moreover puffed up with pride of confessorship merely 30 on the strength of a short annoyance of imprisonment without further hardship; whereas even though he had given his body to be burned, he would have gained

nihil profecisset, dilectionem dei non habens, cuius charismata quoque expugnavit. Nam idem tunc episcopum Romanum agnoscentem iam prophetias Montani, Priscæ, Maximillæ, et ex ea agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiae et
 5 Phrygiae inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseverando et praecessorum eius auctoritates defendendo coegit et literas pacis revocare iam emissas et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare. Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romae procuravit, prophetiam expulit et haeresim intulit, paracletum fugavit et
 10 patrem crucifixit.

Id. *Adv. Prax.* I.

XLV.

ITAQUE pro cuiusque personae conditione ac dispositione, etiam aetate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est, praecipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est, sponsores
 15 etiam periculo ingeri, qui et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt et proventu malae indolis falli? Ait quidem dominus: Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire. Veniant ergo, dum adolescent; veniant, dum discunt, dum quo veniant docentur; fiant Christiani, quum Christum
 20 nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agetur in secularibus, ut cui substantia terrena non creditur, divina credatur.

Id. *De Baptismo*, 18.

XLVI.

Τοιαῦτα ὁ γόης τολμήσας συνεστήσατο διδασκαλεῖον κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὕτως διδάξας, καὶ πρῶτος τὰ πρὸς

nothing by it, not having the love of God, whose gifts too he has fought against. For he it was again, who when the then bishop of Rome was ready to recognize the prophecies of Montanus, Prisca and Maximilla, and in consequence of that recognition to give his peace to the Churches of Asia⁵ and Phrygia—he by making false statements about the prophets themselves and their Churches, and by urging the authority of the bishop's predecessors, obliged him to recall the letters of peace he had already sent out, and to give up his purpose of acknowledging the gifts. Thus¹⁰ Praxeas managed two of the devil's businesses in Rome: he drove out prophecy and brought in heresy; he put to flight the Comforter and crucified the Father.

Infant Baptism.

THEREFORE according to the circumstances and temper and even age of each is the delay of baptism more profit-¹⁵ able, yet especially in the case of little children. For where is the need of involving sponsors also in danger? They too through mortality may fail to perform their promises, or may be deceived by the growth of an evil disposition. The Lord says, indeed, Forbid them²⁰ not to come unto me. Let them come then when they are grown up; let them come when they have learned, when they are taught where they are coming; let them become Christians when they are able to know Christ. Why does an age which is innocent hasten to the remission of sins?²⁵ There will be more caution used in worldly matters, so that one who is not trusted with earthly substance is trusted with divine.

Misdeeds of Callistus.

THE impostor had the impudence to adopt opinions of this kind, setting up a school against the Church, and³⁰

τὰς ἡδονὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συγχωρεῖν ἐπενόησε, λέγων
 πᾶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίεσθαι ἁμαρτίας. . . . οὗτος ἐδογμα-
 τισεν ὅπως εἰ ἐπίσκοπος ἁμάρτοι τι, εἰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον,
 μὴ δεῖν κατατίθεσθαι. ἐπὶ τούτου ἤρξαντο ἐπίσκοποι
 5 καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι δίγαμοι καὶ τρίγαμοι
 καθίστασθαι εἰς κλήρους· εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν κλήρῳ ὦν
 γαμοίῃ, μένειν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὥς μὴ ἡμαρ-
 τηκότα. . . . καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἀνανδροὶ
 εἶεν καὶ ἡλικία γε ἐκκαίοντο ἀναξία, ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν μὴ
 10 βούλονται καθαιρεῖν διὰ τὸ νομίμως γαμηθῆναι, ἔχειν ἕνα
 ὃν ἂν αἰρήσωνται σύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκέτην, εἴτε ἐλεύθερον,
 καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς μὴ νόμῳ γέγαμημένην. . . .
 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἀπηρυθριασ-
 μένοι καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι, καὶ
 15 τινες νομίζοντες εὖ πράττειν συντρέχουσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐπὶ
 τούτου πρῶτως τετόλμηται δεύτερον αὐτοῖς βάπτισμα.

HIPPOLYTUS, *Ref. Omn. Haer.* ix. 12.

XLVII.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀμβρόσιος τὰ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου φρονῶν
 αἰρέσεως, πρὸς τῆς ὑπὸ Ὠριγένους πρεσβευομένης ἀλη-
 θείας ἐλεγχθεῖς, καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ φωτὸς καταναγασθεῖς τὴν
 20 διάνοιαν, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προστίθεται
 λόγῳ· καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας, τῆς περὶ
 τὸν Ὠριγένην φήμης πανταχόσε βοωμένης, ἦσαν ὡς
 αὐτόν, πείραν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ἱκανότητος τάνδρὸς
 ληψόμενοι· μυριοὶ δὲ τῶν αἰρετικῶν, φιλοσόφων τε τῶν
 25 μάλιστα ἐπιφανῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, διὰ σπουδῆς αὐτῷ προσ-
 εῖχον, πρὸς τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τῆς ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφίας
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ παιδευόμενοι. εἰσῆγέ τε γὰρ ὅσους εὐφρῶς
 ἔχοντας ἑώρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, γεωμε-
 τρίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προπαιδεύματα παρα-

teaching accordingly ; and he was the first who found out the device of yielding to men in their sensual pleasures by saying that all men had their sins forgiven by him. . . . He it was who laid it down, that if a bishop committed a sin, though it were a sin unto death, he ought not to be 5 deposed. In his time began twice married and thrice married men to be appointed to clerical office as bishops, elders and deacons ; and if one married who was in the clergy, such a one remained in the clergy as if he had not sinned [quoting Rom. xiv. 4, Matt. xiii. 29, and the clean 10 and unclean in the ark]. For he even allowed women, if they were unmarried and inflamed with love unworthy of their age, or did not wish to forfeit their rank for the sake of a legal marriage, to have one whomsoever they chose for a companion, whether he were slave or free, and 15 though not legally married to him to count him for a husband. . . . And on the strength of these audacious doings the shameless fellows endeavour to call themselves a Catholic Church ; and some thinking they are faring well agree with them. In his time a second baptism was first 20 impudently attempted by them.

Origen's conception of education.

ABOUT this time Ambrose, who held the heresy of Valentinus, was convinced by Origen's presentation of the truth, and, as if his mind were illumined by light, he accepted the orthodox doctrine of the Church. Many other 25 lovers of learning also, drawn by the fame of Origen, which resounded everywhere, came to him to make trial of his skill in sacred literature. And a great many heretics and not a few of the most distinguished philosophers studied under him diligently, receiving instruction from 30 him not only in divine things, but also in secular philosophy. For when he perceived that any persons had superior intelligence he instructed them also in philosophic studies—in geometry, arithmetic and other pre-

διδούς, εἷς τε τὰς αἱρέσεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις
 προάγων, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις συγγράμματα διηγούμενος,
 ὑπομνηματιζόμενός τε καὶ θεωρῶν εἰς ἕκαστα, ὥστε μέγαν
 καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἑλλῆσι φιλόσοφον τὸν ἄνδρα κηρύτ-
 5 τεσθαι. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικωτέρων ἐνήγεν ἐπὶ
 τὰ ἐγκύκλια γράμματα, οὐ μικρὰν αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι φάσκων
 ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδειότητα εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν
 θεωρίαν τε καὶ παρασκευήν. ὅθεν μάλιστα καὶ ἑαυτῷ
 ἀναγκαίαν ἡγήσατο τὴν περὶ τὰ κοσμικὰ καὶ φιλόσοφα
 10 μαθήματα ἀσκήσιν.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 18.

XLVIII.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν συνέστηκεν ἡ γραφὴ καὶ αὐτὴ οἶονεὶ ἐκ
 σώματος μὲν τοῦ βλεπομένου, ψυχῆς δὲ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ
 νοουμένης καὶ καταλαμβανομένης, καὶ πνεύματος τοῦ κατὰ
 τὰ ὑποδείγματα καὶ σκιὰν τῶν ἐπουρανίων· φέρε, ἐπι-
 15 καλεσάμενοι τὸν ποιήσαντα τῇ γραφῇ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν
 καὶ πνεῦμα, σῶμα μὲν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν, ψυχὴν δὲ ἡμῖν,
 πνεῦμα δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι κληρονομήσουσι
 ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ μέλλουσιν ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ
 20 ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος· εἰ δὲ οἱοί τέ ἐσμεν, ἀναβη-
 σόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν
 ἀναγνώσθαισιν θυσιῶν.

ORIGEN, *In Lev. Hom.* v (*Philocalia*, i, *ad fin.*).

XLIX.

Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ὁ Κέλσος ὑπιδόμενος τὰ ἐπιδειχθησό-
 μενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γεγεννημένα μεγάλα, περὶ ὧν ὀλίγα
 25 ἀπὸ πολλῶν εἰρήκαμεν· προσποιεῖται συγχωρεῖν ἀληθῆ
 εἶναι, ὅσα περὶ θεραπειῶν, ἢ ἀναστάσεως, ἢ περὶ ἄρτων

paratory studies—and then advanced to the systems of the philosophers and explained their writings. And he made observations and comments upon each of them, so that he became celebrated as a great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves. And he instructed many of the less learned in the common school studies, saying that these would be no small help to them in the study and understanding of the Divine Scriptures. On this account he considered it especially necessary for himself to be skilled in secular and philosophic learning.

N. L.

10

The Letter and the Spirit.

SINCE then Scripture itself also consists as it were of a visible body, and of the soul in it that is perceived and understood, and of the spirit which is according to the patterns and shadow of the heavenly things—come, let us call on Him who made for Scripture body and soul and spirit, a body for them that came before us, a soul for us, and a spirit for them that in the age to come shall inherit life eternal, and shall attain to the heavenly and true things of the law; and so let us for the present search not the letter but the soul. And if we are able, we shall ascend also to the spirit, in our account of the sacrifices whereof we have just read.

The Argument from our Lord's Miracles.

IN the next place Celsus, suspecting that we shall put forward the mighty works of Jesus, of which we have already spoken very slightly, professes to grant that they may be true—all that is recorded of healings, or of a

ὀλίγων θρεψάντων πολλοὺς ἀναγέγραπται, ἀφ' ὧν λείψανα
 πολλὰ καταλέλειπται, ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα οἶεται τερατευσαμένους
 τοὺς μαθητὰς ἱστορηκέναι, καὶ ἐπιφέρει αὐτοῖς· 'Φέρε
 πιστεύσωμεν εἶναί σοι ταῦτ' εἰργασμένα.' καὶ εὐθέως
 5 κοινοποιεῖ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τῶν γοήτων, ὡς ὑπισχνου-
 μένων θαυμασιώτερα, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν μαθόντων ἀπὸ
 Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιτελούμενα, ἐν μέσαις ἀγοραῖς ὀλίγων
 ὀβολῶν ἀποδομένων τὰ σεμνὰ μαθήματα, καὶ δαίμονας
 ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐξελαυνόντων, καὶ νόσους ἀποφυσώντων,
 10 καὶ ψυχὰς ἡρώων ἀνακαλούντων, δεῖπνά τε πολυτελεῖ, καὶ
 τραπέζας, καὶ πέμματα, καὶ ὄψα τὰ οὐκ ὄντα δεικνύντων,
 καὶ ὡς ζῶα κινούντων οὐκ ἀληθῶς ὄντα ζῶα, ἀλλὰ μέχρι
 φαντασίας φαινόμενα τοιαῦτα. καὶ φησιν· 'Ἄρ' ἐπεὶ
 ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι, δεήσει ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι
 15 υἱοὺς εἶναι θεοῦ; ἢ λεκτέον αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα εἶναι
 ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν καὶ κακοδαιμόνων;' Id. c. Cels. i. 68.

L.

Τίς τοῦτο εἶδε; γυνὴ πάροιστρος, ὥς φατε, καὶ εἴ τις
 ἄλλος τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γοητείας, ἥτοι κατὰ τινὰ διάθεσιν
 ὀνειρώξας, ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν δόξῃ πεπλανημένην
 20 φαντασιωθεῖς, ὅπερ δὴ μυρίοις συμβέβηκεν· ἢ, ὅπερ
 μᾶλλον, ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς λοιποὺς τῇ τερατείᾳ ταύτῃ θελήσας,
 καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ψεύσματος ἀφορμὴν ἄλλοις ἀγύρταις
 παρασχεῖν.

Ibid. ii. 55.

LI.

Ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ τὸ 'μόνους ἡλιθίους καὶ ἀγεννεῖς καὶ
 25 ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδάρια
 πείθειν ἐθέλειν τοὺς διδάσκοντας τὸν θεῖον λόγον.' καὶ
 τούτους μὲν γὰρ καλεῖ ὁ λόγος, ἵνα αὐτοὺς βελτιώσῃ.

resurrection, or of the many who fed on a few loaves and left of them many fragments, and all the rest of the stories in telling which he thinks the disciples were romancing—and adds, ‘Well, suppose we believe that you really did them.’ Then straightway he puts them on a level with 5 the works of the jugglers, on the ground that their professions are still more marvellous, and with the performances of those who have learned from the Egyptians, who sell their venerated arts for a few pence in the open market-place, and cast out demons from men, and puff away 10 diseases, and call up souls of heroes, and exhibit costly dinners with tables and cakes and dainties non-existent, and set in motion as living animals lifeless things which have only the appearance of animals. Then he says, ‘Since the jugglers do these things, must we needs think 15 them sons of God, or shall we say that these are practices of wicked wretches?’

Celsus on the Lord's Resurrection.

WHO saw this? A frantic woman, as you say, and possibly some other in the same imposture, either dreaming it through some personal peculiarity, or by a 20 wandering imagination shaping it according to his own will, which is just what has happened in so many cases; or, what is more likely, desiring to scare the rest with this quackery, and by a falsehood of this sort to give an opening to other impostors.

25

The Gospel not specially addressed to Fools.

THAT again is false, that it is ‘only simpletons and low people, and stupid, and slaves, and womenkind, and children,’ whom the teachers of the Divine word desire to persuade. For though the word does call these, that

καλεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολλῶ τούτων διαφέροντας· ἐπεὶ σωτήρ
 ἐστι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁ Χριστός, καὶ μάλιστα πιστῶν,
 εἴτε συνετῶν εἴτε καὶ ἀπλουστέρων.

Ibid. iii. 49.

LI A.

Ἀποδεικνύντες δὲ ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ περὶ τῆς θεότητος
 5 Ἰησοῦ, καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγοις προφητικοῖς,
 συναποδείκνυμεν θεοπνεύστους εἶναι τὰς προφητευούσας
 περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφάς· καὶ τὰ καταγγέλλοντα τὴν ἐπι-
 δημίαν αὐτοῦ γράμματα καὶ διδασκαλίαν μετὰ πάσης
 δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας εἰρημένα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς
 10 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκλογῆς κεκρατηκότα. Λεκτέον δὲ
 ὅτι τὸ τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἔνθεον, καὶ τὸ πνευ-
 ματικὸν τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου, ἔλαμψεν ἐπιδημήσαντος
 Ἰησοῦ. ἐναργῇ γὰρ παραδείγματα περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύ-
 στους εἶναι τὰς παλαιὰς γραφὰς πρὸ τῆς ἐπιδημίας
 15 τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραστήσαι οὐ πάνυ δυνατὸν ἦν· ἀλλ' ἡ
 Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημία δυναμένους ὑποπτεῦσθαι τὸν νόμον καὶ
 τοὺς προφῆτας ὡς οὐ θεῖα εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἡγάγεν ὡς
 οὐρανίῳ χάριτι ἀναγεγραμμένα. ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐπιμελείας καὶ
 προσοχῆς ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς προφητικοῖς λόγοις, παθὼν ἐξ
 20 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν ἵχνος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, δι' ὧν πάσχει
 πεισθήσεται οὐκ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τοὺς πεπι-
 στευμένους ἡμῖν εἶναι θεοῦ λόγους. καὶ τὸ ἐνυπάρχον δὲ
 φῶς τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ, καλύμματι ἐναποκεκρυμμένον,
 συνέλαμψε τῇ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ, περιαιρεθέντος τοῦ καλύμ-
 25 ματος, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κατὰ βραχὺ εἰς γνῶσιν ἐρχομένων,
 ὧν σκιὰν εἶχε τὸ γράμμα.

ORIGEN, *De Principiis*, iv. 6 = *Philos.* p. 12.

LI B.

Τίς γοῦν νοῦν ἔχων οἰήσεται πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν καὶ
 τρίτην ἡμέραν, ἐσπέραν τε καὶ πρωΐαν, χωρὶς ἡλίου γε-

it may make them better, yet it also calls those who are much better than these, since the Christ is the Saviour of all men, and specially of such as believe, whether prudent or simple.

The true ground of Old Testament Inspiration.

IN this our Demonstration in briet of the divinity of 5 Jesus, and in our use of the words of the Prophets concerning Him, we are making simultaneous demonstration of the inspiration of those scriptures which prophesy about Him, and proving the literature which proclaims His coming to be an utterance of full power and authority, 10 which for that reason has laid firm hold of the elect of the Gentiles. Indeed, we may say that the inspired character of the prophetic writings and the spirituality of the law of Moses shone out when Jesus came. Clear proofs of the inspiration of the Old Testament could not well be given 15 before the Christ had come. Till then the law and the prophets were open to a suspicion of not being truly divine: it was the coming of Jesus that set them in a plain light as records made by the grace of heaven. He who 20 with diligent attention reads the words of the prophets will from his very reading experience a trace and vestige of inspiration in himself, and this personal experience will convince him that those are no compilations of men, which we are firmly persuaded are the words of God. The light, too, that was always there in the Mosaic law, though 25 covered with a vail, shone out simultaneously with the coming of Jesus, when the vail was taken away and the good things came little by little into view, those good things whose shadow was found in the letter.

R.

The Parabolic Element in Scripture Narratives.

WHAT intelligent person would fancy, for instance, that 30 a first, second, and third day, evening and morning, took

γονέναι καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων; τὴν δὲ οἶονεὶ πρώτην
 καὶ χωρὶς οὐρανοῦ; τίς δ' οὕτως ἡλίθιος ὡς οἰηθῆναι
 τρόπον ἀνθρώπου γεωργοῦ τὸν θεὸν πεφυτευκέναι παράδει-
 σον ἐν Ἑδὲμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς, καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς ἐν αὐτῷ
 5 πεποιηκέναι ὁρατὸν καὶ αἰσθητόν, ὥστε διὰ τῶν σωματι-
 κῶν ὀδόντων γευσάμενον τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ ζῆν ἀναλαμβάνειν
 καὶ πάλιν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ μετέχειν τινὰ παρὰ τὸ με-
 μασησθαι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ξύλου λαμβανόμενον; ἐὰν
 δὲ καὶ θεὸς τὸ δειλινὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περιπατεῖν
 10 λέγεται, καὶ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ τὸ ξύλον κρύπτεσθαι· οὐκ οἴμαι
 διστάξειν τινὰ περὶ τοῦ αὐτὰ τροπικῶς διὰ δοκούσης
 ἱστορίας καὶ οὐ σωματικῶς γεγενημένης, μηνύειν τινὰ
 μυστήρια. ἀλλὰ καὶ Κάιν ἐξερχόμενος ἀπὸ προσώπου
 τοῦ θεοῦ σαφῶς τοῖς ἐπιστήσασι φαίνεται κινεῖν τὸν
 15 ἐντυγχάνοντα ζητεῖν πρόσωπον θεοῦ καὶ ἐξέρχεσθαι τινα
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν, τῶν μὴ πάνυ ἀμ-
 βλέων μυρία ὅσα τοιαῦτα δυναμένων συναγαγεῖν, ἀναγε-
 γραμμένα μὲν ὡς γεγονότα, οὐ γεγενημένα δὲ κατὰ τὴν
 λέξιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶδους τῶν
 20 λόγων πεπλήρωται· εἰς ὑψηλὸν ὅρος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνα-
 βιβάζοντος τοῦ διαβόλου, ἵν' ἐκείθεν αὐτῷ δείξῃ τοῦ
 παντὸς κόσμου τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν. τίς
 γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν μὴ παρέργως ἀναγινωσκόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα
 καταγινώσκοι τῶν οἰόμενων τῷ τῆς σαρκὸς ὀφθαλμῷ,
 25 δεηθέντι ὕψους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατανοηθῆναι δύνασθαι τὰ κατω-
 τέρω καὶ ὑποκείμενα, ἐωρᾶσθαι τὴν Περσῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν
 καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων βασιλείαν, καὶ ὡς δοξάζονται
 παρὰ ἀνθρώποις οἱ βασιλεύοντες; παραπλησίως δὲ τού-
 τοις καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἔνεστι τὸν
 30 ἀκριβοῦντα τηρῆσαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ συγκαταθέσθαι συνυφαί-
 νεσθαι ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ρῆτὸν γεγενημέναις ἱστορίαις ἕτερα
 μὴ συμβεβηκότα.

place without sun, moon, and stars; and the first, as we call it, without even a heaven? Who would be so childish as to suppose that God after the manner of a human gardener planted a garden in Eden towards the east, and made therein a tree, visible and sensible, so that one could 5 get the power of living by the bodily eating of its fruit with the teeth; or again, could partake of good and evil by feeding on what came from that other tree? If God is said to walk at eventide in the garden, and Adam to hide himself under the tree, I fancy that no one will 10 question that these statements are figurative, declaring mysterious truths by the means of a seeming history, not one that took place in a bodily form. And Cain's going forth from the presence of God, as is plain and clear to attentive minds, stirs the reader to look for the meaning 15 of the presence of God, and of any one's going forth from it. What need of more, when all but the dullest eyes can gather innumerable instances, in which things are recorded as having happened which did not take place in the literal sense? Nay, even the Gospels are full of sayings of the 20 same class: as when the devil takes Jesus up into a high mountain, to show him from thence the kingdoms of the whole world and the glory of them. Who but a careless reader of such words would fail to condemn those who think that by the eye of flesh, which needed a height 25 to bring into view what lay far down beneath, the kingdoms of Persians, and Scythians, and Indians, and Parthians, were seen, and the glory men give to their rulers? Countless cases such as this the accurate reader is able to observe, to make him agree that with the histories which 30 literally took place other things are interwoven which did not actually happen.

LII.

Οὐκοῦν ἐγκαταλείπεται θεία κρίσει ὁ ἐγκαταλειπό-
 μενος, καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπὶ τινὰς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ὁ Θεὸς
 οὐκ ἄλόγως, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντος ὡς πρὸς τὴν
 ἀθανασίαν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα τοῦ μὴ ταχὺ
 5 συνεργηθῆναι εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ βράδιον ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀχ-
 θῆναι μετὰ τὸ πειραθῆναι πολλῶν κακῶν. ὥσπερ γάρ
 τινὰ καὶ ἱατροὶ δυνάμενοι τάχιον ἰάσασθαι, ὅταν ἐγκεκρυμ-
 μένον ἰὸν ὑπονοῶσιν ὑπάρχειν περὶ τὰ σώματα, τὸ ἐναντίον
 τῷ ἰάσασθαι ἐργάζονται, διὰ τὸ ἰᾶσθαι βούλεσθαι ἀσφαλέ-
 10 στερον τοῦτο ποιῶντες· ἡγούμενοι κρεῖττον εἶναι πολλῷ
 χρόνῳ παρακατασχεῖν τινὰ ἐν τῷ φλεγμαίνειν καὶ κάμνειν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ βεβαιοτέρου αὐτὸν τὴν ὑγίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἥπερ
 τάχιον μὲν ῥῶσαι δοκεῖν ὕστερον δὲ ἀναδύναμι καὶ πρόσ-
 καιρον γενέσθαι τὴν ταχυτέραν ἴασιν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
 15 καὶ ὁ Θεός, γινώσκων τὰ κρύφια τῆς καρδίας καὶ προ-
 γινώσκων τὰ μέλλοντα, διὰ τῆς μακροθυμίας ἐπιτρέπει
 τάχα καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμβαινόντων ἐφελκόμενος τὸ
 ἐν κρυπτῷ κακόν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθᾶραι τὸν δι' ἀμέλειαν τὰ
 σπέρματα τῆς ἁμαρτίας κεχωρηκότα, ἵνα εἰς ἐπιπολὴν
 20 ἐλθόντα αὐτά τις ἐμέσας, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐν κακοῖς
 γεγένηται, ὕστερον δυνηθῇ καθαρσίου τυχὼν τοῦ μετὰ
 τὴν κακίαν ἀναστοιχειωθῆναι. Θεὸς γὰρ οἰκονομεῖ τὰς
 ψυχὰς οὐχ ὡς πρὸς τὴν φέρ' εἰπεῖν πεντηκονταετίαν
 τῆς ἐνθάδε ζωῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα·
 25 ἄφθαρτον γὰρ φύσιν πεποίηκε τὴν νοερὰν καὶ αὐτῷ
 συγγενῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκλείεται ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα
 ζωῆς ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ τῆς θεραπείας.

The Method of God's dealing with Sinners.

HE therefore that is left is left to the divine judgement ; and God is long-suffering towards certain sinners, not unreasonably, but with intent to profit them, with a view to the immortality of the soul and the unending age, that they be not quickly brought into salvation, but led to it more slowly, after they have had trial of many evils. For even as physicians (though able to heal a man more quickly), when they suspect that there is hidden poison anywhere in the body, do the reverse of healing, and this they do because they wish to heal the more surely ; counting it better to keep a man for a long time in inflammation and sickness that he may the more certainly recover his health, than that he should seem to gain strength more quickly and afterward fall back again, so that the quicker healing is but for a time ; in the same way God also, knowing the secret things of the heart and foreknowing the things to come, through His long-suffering permits [sins], peradventure by means of outside events drawing together the evil that is in secret, for the sake of cleansing him who by reason of carelessness has received the seeds of sin, to the end that when they have come to the surface a man may spue them out, and even if he have been deep in wickednesses, may afterward be able to obtain cleansing after his wickedness and be renewed. For God disposes souls not as for say the fifty years of life on earth, but as for the unending age ; for He has made the intelligent nature incorruptible and akin to Himself, and the rational soul is not shut out from cure as in this present life.

LIII.

Τῆς δὲ μοχθηρίας τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν οὐκ ἀποστασιν, λύσιν δέ τινες εὐρεῖν προθυμηθέντες, ἐπ' ἐξηγήσεις ἐτράποντο ἀσυγκλώστους καὶ ἀναρμόστους τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, οὐκ ἀπολογίαν μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀθνείων, 5 παραδοχὴν δὲ καὶ ἔπαινον τοῖς οἰκείοις φερούσας. αἰνίγματα γὰρ τὰ φανερώς παρὰ Μωϋσεὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι κομπάσαντες, καὶ ἐπιθειάσαντες ὡς θεσπίσματα πλήρη κρυφίων μυστηρίων, διὰ τε τοῦ τύφου τὸ κριτικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καταγοητεύσαντες, ἐπάγουσιν ἐξηγήσεις.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 19.

LIV.

10 Ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς ἐν ταῖς εἰς αὐτὴν ὁμιλίαις ταῦτα διαλαμβάνει·

Ὅτι ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ 15 λόγῳ, τουτέστι τῇ φράσει, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἂν. πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσιά ἐστι, καὶ οὐ 20 δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο ἂν συμφήσαι εἶναι ἀληθὲς πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ.

Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων·

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος εἵποίμ' ἂν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις 25 ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰ σχολιογραφῆσαντός τινος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκίμείτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ

Porphry's Objections to Allegorical Interpretations.

SOME persons, desiring to find a solution of the baseness of the Jewish Scriptures rather than abandon them, have had recourse to interpretations inconsistent and incongruous with the words written, which explanations instead of supplying a defence of the foreigners, contain rather 5 approval and praise of themselves. For they boast that the plain words of Moses are enigmas, and regard them as oracles full of hidden mysteries; and having bewildered the mental judgement by their folly, they foist interpretations on them.

N. L.

10

Origen on the Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

IN addition Origen makes the following statements in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Homilies upon it:

‘That the verbal style of the epistle entitled “To the Hebrews,” is not rude like the language of the Apostle, 15 who acknowledged himself “rude in speech,” that is, in expression; but that its diction is purer Greek, any one who has the power to discern differences of phraseology will acknowledge. Moreover, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknow- 20 ledged Apostolic writings, any one who carefully examines the Apostolic text will admit.’

Farther on he adds:

‘If I gave my opinion, I should say that the thoughts are those of the Apostle, but the diction and phraseology 25 are those of some one who remembered the Apostolic teachings, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore if any Church holds that this epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this. For

ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι. τίς δὲ
ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν.
ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία, ὑπὸ τινων μὲν λε-
γόντων, ὅτι Κλήμης ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων
5 ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὑπὸ τινων δέ, ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ
γράφας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς Πράξεις. *Ibid.* vi. 25.

LIV A.¹

Τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἤρη
μένοις κώ(μης) Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) Νήσου
παρὰ Αὐρήλ(ίου) Διογένου(s) Σατα
10 βούτος ἀπὸ κώ(μης) Ἀλεξανδ(ρου)
Νήσου ὡς Λοβ οὐλ(ῆ)
ὀφρῦι δεξ(ιᾷ) καὶ ἀεὶ
θύων τοῖς θεοῖς διετέ
λεσα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πα
15 ροῦσιν ὑμεῖν κατὰ
τὰ προστετα[γμέ]
να ἔθυσα καὶ ἔ[πιον] οἱ ἔ[σπεισα]
[κά]ι τῶν ἔ[ρε]ρίων [έγεν]
σάμην καὶ ἀξιῶ [ύμᾶς]
20 ὑποσημιώσασθαι
Διευτυχεῖται
Αὐρήλ(ιος) [Δι]ογένης ἐπιδ[έδωκα]
Αὐρήλ(ιος) σ . . . ρ . . .
θύοντα Μυσ
25 . . . νωνος σεσ[ημείωμαι?]
[Λά] Αὐτοκράτορο[s] Καί[σαρος]
[Γα]ίου Μεσσίου Κ[ο]ίν[του]
[Τρ]αι[ανου] Δε[κ]ίου Εὐσ[εβοῦς]
[Ε]ὐτ[υχου]ς Σε[β]α[σ]του
30 Ἐπ[ειφ]β . . .

¹ Brackets () indicate contractions; clams [] supply defects in the MS.

not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the epistle, in truth God knows. The statement of some who have gone before us is that Clement, bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, and of others that Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts, wrote it.

N. L.

A Libellus of the Decian Persecution.

To the officers in charge of the sacrifices of the village of Alexander's Isle, from Aurelius Diogenes, the son of Satabus, of the village of Alexander's Isle, aged about 72, with a scar on his right eyebrow. I have always sacrificed to the gods; and now in your presence, according to the commands, I have sacrificed and made a libation and tasted of the victims; and I desire you to subscribe. Fare ye well.

I, Aurelius Diogenes, have delivered this . . . 15

I, Mys[. . . the son of . . .]non¹, [saw him] sacrificing, and have subscribed

In the first year of Imperator Caesar Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, on Epiphi 2 (=June 26, 250). 20

¹ The parts in claps will show the sort of matter which must have occupied the space.

LV.

Νοουατιανῷ μὲν γὰρ εὐλόγως ἀπεχθανόμεθα, διακόψαντι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀσεβείας καὶ βλασφημίας ἐλκύσαντι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἀνοσιωτάτην ἐπεισκυκλήσαντι, καὶ τὸν χρηστότατον
 5 Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὡς ἀνηλεῆ συκοφαντοῦντι, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ λουτρὸν ἀθετοῦντι τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἀνατρέποντι, τό τε Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τις ἦν ἐλπίς τοῦ παραμεῖναι ἢ καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς, παντελῶς
 10 φυγαδεύονται.

Ibid. vii. 8.

LVI.

QUAM unitatem tenere firmiter et vindicare debemus, maxime episcopi qui in ecclesia praesidemus, ut episcopatum quoque ipsum unum atque indivisum probemus. Nemo fraternitatem mendacio fallat, nemo fidem veritatis
 15 perfida prevaricatione corrumpat. Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia una est, quae in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur, quomodo solis multi radii sed lumen unum, et rami arboris multi sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum,
 20 et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiae largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. . . . Qui reliquit ecclesiam Christi alienus est, profanus est, hostis est. Habere non potest Deum patrem qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit
 25 evadere quisquis extra arcam Noe fuit, et qui extra ecclesiam fuerit evadit.

CYPRIAN, *De Cath. Eccles. Unitate*, 5.

Dionysius of Alexandria on Novatian.

FOR we hate Novatian with good reason, in that he divided the Church and led some of the brethren into impieties and blasphemies and introduced a most unholy doctrine concerning God, and slanders our most compassionate Lord Jesus Christ as merciless. In addition ⁵ to all this he rejects the holy washing, and overthrows the faith and confession which go before it, and utterly banishes from them the Holy Spirit, if there were any hope at all that he would remain with them or return to them.

The Unity of the Church.

AND this unity we ought firmly to hold and assert, ¹⁰ especially those of us that are bishops who preside in the Church, that we may also prove the episcopate itself to be one and undivided. Let no one deceive the brotherhood by a falsehood: let no one corrupt the faithfulness of the truth by perfidious prevarication. The episcopate is one, ¹⁵ each part of which is held by each one for the whole. The Church also is one, which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude by an increase of fruitfulness. As there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of a tree, but one strength based in its tenacious ²⁰ root; and since from one spring flow many streams, although the multiplicity seems diffused in the liberality of an overflowing abundance, yet the unity is still preserved in the source. . . . He who has left the Church of Christ is an alien, a profane person, an enemy. He ²⁵ cannot have God for his Father who has not the Church for his mother. If he could escape who was outside the ark of Noah, then he too will escape who was outside the Church.

A. N. L.

LVII.

CYPRIANVS PRESBYTERIS ET DIACONIBVS ROMAE
CONSISTENTIBVS FRATRIBVS S.

FACTIS ad vos litteris, fratres carissimi, quibus actus
noster expositus et disciplinae ac diligentiae quantu-
laecumque ratio declarata est, aliud accessit quod nec
ipsum latere vos debuit. Nam frater noster Lucianus et
5 ipse unus de confessoribus, fide quidem calidus et virtute
robustus sed bene minus dominica lectione fundatus,
quaedam conatus est inperite, iam pridem se auctorem
constituens, ut manu eius scripti libelli gregatim multis
nomine Pauli darentur, cum Mappalicus martyr cautus et
10 verecundus, legis ac disciplinae memor, nullas contra
evangelium litteras fecerit, sed tantum domestica pietate
commotus matri et sorori suae quae lapsae fuerant man-
daverit pacem dari, Saturninus quoque post tormenta
adhuc in carcere constitutus nullas eiusmodi litteras
15 emiseric. Lucianus vero non tantum Paulo adhuc in
carcere posito nomine eius libellos manu sua scriptos
passim dedit, sed et post eius excessum eadem facere sub
eius nomine perseveravit, dicens hoc sibi ab illo esse
mandatum et nesciens domino magis quam conservo
20 obtemperandum. Aureli quoque adulescentis tormenta
perpassi nomine libelli multi dati sunt eiusdem Luciani
manu scripti, quod litteras ille non nosset. Cui rei ut
aliquantum possit obsisti, litteras ad eos feci quas ad vos
sub epistola priore transmisi, quibus petere et suadere
25 non destiti ut dominicae legis et evangelii ratio teneretur.

On Church Discipline.

CYPRIAN to the presbyters and deacons abiding at Rome, his brethren, greeting. After the letters that I wrote to you, beloved brethren, in which what I had done was explained, and an account was given of my discipline and diligence, such as it is, there came another matter 5 which, any more than the others, ought not to be concealed from you. For our brother Lucian, who himself also is one of the confessors, earnest indeed in faith, and robust in virtue, but little established in the reading of the Lord's word, has attempted certain things in a foolish way, 10 having now for some time made himself the cause that certificates written by his hand were given indiscriminately to many persons in the name of Paulus; whereas Mappalicus the martyr, cautious and modest, mindful of the law and discipline, wrote no letters contrary to the Gospel, but 15 only, moved with domestic affection for his mother and sister, who had fallen, commanded peace to be given to them. Saturninus, moreover, after his torture, still remaining in prison, sent out no letters of this kind. But Lucian, not only while Paulus was still in prison, gave everywhere in 20 his name certificates written with his own hand, but even after his decease persisted in doing the same things under his name, saying that this had been commanded him by Paulus, ignorant that he must obey the Lord rather than his fellow-servant. In the name also of Aurelius, a young 25 man who had undergone the torture, many certificates were given, written by the hand of the same Lucian, because Aurelius did not know how to write himself.

In order, in some measure, to put a stop to this practice, I wrote letters to them, which I have sent to you under 30 the enclosure of the former letter, in which I did not cease to ask and persuade them that consideration might be had for the law of the Lord and the Gospel. But after I sent

Post quas litteras quasi moderatius aliquid et temperantius fieret, universorum confessorum nomine Lucianus epistolam scripsit, qua paene omne vinculum fidei et timor dei et mandatum domini et evangelii sanctitas et firmitas
 5 solveretur. Scripsit enim omnium nomine universos eos pacem dedisse et hanc formam per me aliis episcopis innotescere velle, cuius epistolae exemplum ad vos transmissi.

Id. *Ep.* 27.

LVIII.

PROPTER quod [Num. xvi. 26] plebs obsequens praeceptis dominicis et Deum metuens a peccatore praeposito
 10 separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere, quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi. Quod et ipsum videmus et divina auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos plebe praesente sub omnium oculis deligatur et dignus
 15 atque idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio conprobetur, sicut in Numeris Dominus Moysi praecipit dicens [Num. xx. 25, 26]. Coram omni synagoga iubet Deus constitui sacerdotem, id est instruit et ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi adsistentis conscientia fieri
 20 oportere, ut plebe praesente vel detegantur malorum crimina vel bonorum merita praedicentur et sit ordinatio iusta et legitima quae omnium suffragio et iudicio fuerit examinata. . . . Propter quod diligenter de traditione
 25 divina et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias

my letters to them, as if something were being done more moderate and temperate ; the same Lucian wrote a letter in the name of all the confessors, in which well nigh every bond of faith, and fear of God, and the Lord's command, and the sacredness and fixity of the Gospel were dissolved. 5 For he wrote in the name of all, that they had all given peace, and that he wished that this decree should be communicated through me to the other bishops, of which letter I have transmitted a copy to you.

A. N. L.

Appointment of Bishops.

ON which account [Num. xvi. 26] a people obedient to 10 the Lord's precepts, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a sinful prelate, and not to associate themselves with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest¹, especially since they themselves have the power either of choosing worthy priests, or of rejecting unworthy ones. 15 Which very thing, too, we observe to come from divine authority, that the priest should be chosen in the presence of the people under the eyes of all, and should be approved worthy and suitable by public judgement and testimony ; as in the book of Numbers the Lord commanded Moses, 20 saying [Num. xx. 25, 26]. God commands a priest to be appointed in the presence of all the assembly ; that is, He instructs and shows that the ordination of priests ought not to be solemnized except with the knowledge of the people standing near, that in the presence of the people 25 either the crimes of the wicked may be disclosed, or the merits of the good may be declared, and the ordination, which shall have been examined by the suffrage and judgement of all, may be just and legitimate. . . . For which reason you must diligently observe and keep the 30 practice delivered from divine tradition and Apostolic observance, which is also maintained among us, and almost throughout all the provinces ; that for the proper

¹ i. e. bishop : as always in Cyprian.

universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem cui praepositus ordinatur episcopi eiusdem provinciae proximi quique convenient et episcopus deligatur plebe praesente, quae singulorum vitam plenissime
5 novit et uniuscuiusque actum de eius conversatione perspexit.

Id. *Ep.* 67.

LIX.

Quod si aliquis illud opponit ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere quam catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse deum
10 patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem spiritum sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse quod videatur interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare: sciat quisque hoc opponendum putat primum non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem neque
15 eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt, Credis in remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam per sanctam ecclesiam, mentiuntur interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam. Tunc deinde voce sua ipsi confitentur remissionem peccatorum non dari nisi per sanctam ecclesiam
20 posse, quam non habentes ostendunt remitti illic peccata non posse.

Id. *Ep.* 69.

LX.

Nescio qua etenim praesumptione ducuntur quidam de collegis nostris ut putent eos qui apud haereticos tincti sunt, quando ad nos venerint, baptizari non oportere, eo
25 quod dicant unum baptismum esse: quod unum scilicet in ecclesia catholica est, quia ecclesia una est et esse baptismum praeter ecclesiam non potest. Nam cum duo baptismata esse non possint, si haeretici vere baptizant,

celebration of ordinations all the neighbouring bishops of the same province should assemble with that people for which a prelate is ordained; and the bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, who have most fully known the life of each one, and have looked into the doings of each one as respects his habitual conduct.

A. N. L.

Schismatical Baptism worthless.

BUT if any one says by way of objection that Novatian holds the same law as the Catholic Church holds, baptizes with the same creed as ourselves, and recognizes the same God as Father, the same Christ as Son, and the same Holy Spirit; and that for this reason he can take to himself the power of baptizing, because he seems not to differ from ourselves in his baptismal questioning—whoso thinks this a good objection, let him know first that we and the schismatics have neither one law of the creed nor the same questioning, for when they say, ‘Dost thou believe in the forgiveness of sins and life eternal through the Holy Church?’ they lie in their questioning, because they have no Church. Then, again, with their own voice they themselves confess that forgiveness of sins is not given except through the Holy Church; and, as they have not this, they show that with them sins cannot be forgiven.

Heretical Baptism invalid.

FOR I know not by what argument some of our colleagues are led to think that when those come to us who have been dipped by heretics, they ought not to be baptized, on the ground as they say that there is one baptism; which one of course is in the Catholic Church, for the Church is one, and baptism there is none outside the Church. For since there cannot be two baptisms, then if heretics in truth

ipsi habent baptisma . . . nos autem dicimus eos qui inde
 veniunt non rebaptizari apud nos sed baptizari. Neque
 enim accipiunt illic aliquid ubi nihil est, sed veniunt ad
 nos ut hic accipiant ubi et gratia et veritas omnis est, quia
 5 et gratia et veritas una est.

Id. Ep. 71.

LXI.

Eos autem qui Romae sunt non ea in omnibus obser-
 vare quae sint ab origine tradita et frustra apostolorum
 auctoritatem praetendere scire quis etiam inde potest,
 quod circa celebrandos dies Paschae et circa multa alia
 10 divinae rei sacramenta videat esse apud illos aliquas
 diversitates nec observari illic omnia aequaliter quae
 Hierosolymis observantur, secundum quod in ceteris
 quoque plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum et hominum
 diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab ecclesiae
 15 catholicae pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est.
 Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere rumpens adversus
 vos pacem, quam semper antecessores eius vobiscum
 amore et honore mutuo custodierunt, adhuc etiam in-
 famans Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos, quasi hoc
 20 ipsi tradiderint, qui in epistolis suis haereticos execrati
 sunt et ut eos evitemus monuerunt. Unde apparet tradi-
 tionem hanc humanam esse quae haereticos asserit et
 baptisma quod non nisi solius ecclesiae est eos habere
 defendit.

Id. Ep. 75.

LXII.

CYPRIANVS SVCCESSE FRATRI S. . . .

25 . . . Quae autem sunt in vero ita se habent, rescripsisse
 Valerianum ad senatum ut episcopi et presbyteri et

baptize, it is they who have the baptism. . . . We however say that those who come thence are not rebaptized with us but baptized, for indeed they receive not anything there where nothing is, but come to us that they may here receive where there is all grace and truth, since there ⁵ is but one grace and truth.

Firmilian's Letter to Cyprian.

BUT that they who are at Rome do not observe those things in all cases which are handed down from the beginning, and vainly allege the authority of Apostles; any one may know even from the fact, that concerning the ¹⁰ celebration of Easter, and concerning many other sacraments of divine matters, he may see that there are some diversities among them, and that all things are not observed among them alike, which are observed at Jerusalem, just as in very many other provinces also many things are ¹⁵ varied because of the difference of the places and peoples. And yet on this account there is no departure at all from the peace and unity of the Catholic Church, such as Stephen has now dared to make; breaking the peace against you, which his predecessors have always kept with ²⁰ you in mutual love and honour, even herein defaming Peter and Paul the blessed Apostles, as if the very men delivered this who in their epistles execrated heretics, and warned us to avoid them. Whence it appears that this tradition is of men which maintains heretics, ²⁵ and asserts that they have baptism, which belongs to the Church alone.

A. N. L.

The Edict of Valerian.

CYPRIAN to his brother Successus, greeting. . . . But the truth concerning them is as follows, that Valerian had sent a rescript to the Senate, to the effect that bishops and ³⁰

diaconi in continenti animadvertantur, senatores vero et egregii viri et equites Romani dignitate amissa etiam bonis spolientur et si ademptis facultatibus Christiani [esse] perseveraverint, capite quoque multentur, matronae
 5 ademptis bonis in exilium relegentur, Caesariani autem quicumque vel prius confessi fuerant vel nunc confessi fuerint confiscentur et vincti in Caesarianas possessiones descripti mittantur.

Id. *Ep.* 80.

LXIII.

Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νοημάτων δέ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ
 10 τῆς συντάξεως αὐτῶν, εἰκότως ἕτερος οὗτος παρ' ἐκείνον ὑπονοηθήσεται. συνάδουσι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὁμοίως τε ἄρχονται. τὸ μὲν φησὶν, 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος.' ἡ δέ, 'Ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.' τὸ μὲν φησί, 'Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκή-
 15 νωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.' ἡ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ σμικρῶ παραλλαγμένα. 'Ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν, περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη.' ταῦτα
 20 γὰρ προανακρούεται διατεινόμενος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐδήλωσε πρὸς τοὺς 'οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ' φάσκοντας 'ἐληλυθέναι' τὸν Κύριον· διὸ καὶ συνῆψεν ἐπιμελῶς, 'Καὶ ὃ ἐωράκαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἣ τις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐφανερώθη
 25 ἡμῖν· ὃ ἐωράκαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν, ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν.' ἔχεται αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν προθέσεων οὐκ ἀφίσταται, διὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ὀνομάτων πάντα διεξέρχεται· ὧν τινὰ μὲν ἡμεῖς συντόμως ὑπομνήσομεν. ὃ δὲ προσ-

presbyters and deacons should immediately be punished ; but that senators, and men of importance, and Roman knights, should lose their dignity, and moreover be deprived of their property ; and if, when their means were taken away, they should persist in being Christians, then 5 they should also lose their heads ; that matrons should be deprived of their property, and sent into banishment ; but that people of Caesar's household, whoever of them had either confessed before, or should now confess, should have their property confiscated, and should be sent in 10 chains by assignment to Caesar's estates.

*Dionysius of Alexandria on the authorship of the
Apocalypse.*

AND from the thoughts too, and from the words and their arrangement, this writer may reasonably be supposed different from the other. For the Gospel and the Epistle agree together, and begin in like manner. The one says, 15 'In the beginning was the Word' ; the other, 'That which was from the beginning.' The one says, 'And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of an only-begotten from the Father' ; the other the same a little varied, 'That which we have heard, 20 which we have seen with our eyes, which we beheld, and our hands handled, of the Word of life, and the life was manifested.' For this he makes his prelude and steadfastly maintains, as he makes plain in what follows, against those who say 'That the Lord has not come in flesh' : 25 wherefore also he carefully adds, 'And that which we have seen we testify, and we declare unto you the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested to us : that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you.' He is consistent with himself, and does not depart from his 30 purposes, but goes through all things under the same heads and names, of which we will shortly mention some.

ἐχῶς ἐντυγχάνων εὐρήσει ἐν ἐκατέρῳ πολλὴν 'τὴν
 ζώην,' πολὺ 'τὸ φῶς, ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ σκότους,' συνεχῇ
 'τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὴν χάριν, τὴν χαράν, τὴν σάρκα καὶ
 τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν κρίσιν, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν,
 5 τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ἐντολήν, ὡς πάσας δεῖ φυλάσσειν τὰς
 ἐντολάς· ὁ ἔλεγχος τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ διαβόλου, τοῦ ἀντι-
 χρίστου, ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἡ υἱοθεσία
 τοῦ Θεοῦ,' ἡ δι' ὅλου 'πίστις' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτουμένη, 'ὁ
 10 Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς' πανταχοῦ· καὶ ὅλως διὰ πάντων
 χαρακτηρίζοντας, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνορᾶν τοῦ τε
 εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρῶτα πρόκειται. ἀλ-
 λολιοτάτῃ δὲ καὶ ξένη παρὰ ταῦτα ἡ ἀποκάλυψις, μήτε
 ἐφαπτομένη, μήτε γειτνιώσα τούτων μηδενὶ σχεδόν, ὡς
 15 εἰπεῖν, μηδὲ συλλαβὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ κοινὴν ἔχουσα· ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲ μνήμην τινα οὐδὲ ἔννοιαν οὔτε ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τῆς
 ἀποκαλύψεως ἔχει· (ἐὼ γὰρ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον·) οὔτε τῆς
 ἐπιστολῆς ἡ ἀποκάλυψις· Παύλου διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
 ὑποφῆναντός τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων αὐτοῦ, ἃς οὐκ
 20 ἐνέγραψε καθ' αὐτάς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς φράσεως τὴν
 διαφορὰν ἔστι τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς
 ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐ
 μόνον ἀπταίστως κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 λογιώτατα ταῖς λέξεσι, τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, ταῖς συντάξεσι
 25 τῆς ἐρμηνείας γέγραπται. πολλοῦ γε δεῖ βάρβαρόν τινα
 φθόγγον, ἢ σολοικισμόν, ἢ ὅλως ἰδιωτισμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς
 εὐρεθῆναι. ἐκάτερον γὰρ εἶχεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν λόγον, ἀμφο-
 τέρους αὐτῷ χαρισαμένου τοῦ Κυρίου, τὸν τε τῆς γνώσεως,
 τὸν τε τῆς φράσεως. τούτῳ δὲ ἀποκάλυψιν μὲν ἐωρακέναι,

He that reads carefully will find in either much mention of the life, the light, the turning away of darkness ; and continually the truth, the grace, the joy, the flesh and the blood of the Lord, the judgement, the forgiveness of sins, the love of God for us, the command to us to love one another, the 5 need of keeping all the commandments, the conviction of the world, of the devil and of Antichrist, the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption of God, the faith which is throughout required of us, everywhere the Father and the Son. In short, if we mark them by all their characters, it 10 is plain to see that the complexion of the Gospel and of the Epistle is one and the same. But the Apocalypse is entirely different from these and foreign to them, neither touching nor bordering on any of them ; scarcely, so to say, having even a syllable in common with them. Nay, 15 more, the Epistle (for I let alone the Gospel) contains neither mention nor thought of the Apocalypse, nor yet the Apocalypse of the Epistle, whereas Paul by his Epistles signified something even of his visions, which he did not separately insert. Moreover, we may conjecture from the 20 diction the difference of the Gospel and the Epistle from the Apocalypse. For the former are written not only without error, as regards the rules of Greek, but very elegantly in words, in reasonings, and in arrangement of the explanations. We are very far from finding in them 25 a barbarous word or a solecism, or any vulgarism at all. For he had, as it appears, both the one word and the other, as the Lord had granted both to him—that of knowledge, and that of expression. That the other saw a revelation

καὶ γνῶσιν εἰληφέναι καὶ προφητείαν, οὐκ ἀντερῶ· διάλεκτον μέντοι καὶ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἑλληνίζουσιν αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλ' ἰδιώμασιν τε βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον, καὶ πον καὶ σολοικίζοντα. ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον νῦν ἐκλέγειν·
 5 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισκώπτων, μή τις νομίσῃ, ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν ἀνομοιότητα διευθύνων τῶν γραφῶν.

EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 25.

LXIV.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πρύπλιος Δικίνιος Γαλληνός, εὐσεβής, εὐτυχής, σεβαστός, Διονυσίῳ καὶ Πίννῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπισκόποις. τὴν εὐεργεσίαν
 10 τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκβιβασθῆναι προσέταξα· ὅπως ἀπὸ τόπων τῶν θρησκευσίμων ἀποχωρήσωσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς τῆς ἀντιγραφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς τῷ τύπῳ χρῆσθαι δύνασθε, ὥστε μηδένα ὑμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο ὅπερ κατὰ τὸ ἐξὸν δύναται ὑφ'
 15 ὑμῖν ἀναπληροῦσθαι, ἥδη πρὸ πολλοῦ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγκεχώρηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Αὐρήλιος Κυρήνιος, ὁ τοῦ μεγίστου πράγματος προστατεύων, τὸν τύπον τὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθέντα διαφυλάξει.

Ibid. 13.

LXV.

Τοῦ δὴ οὖν Παύλου σὺν καὶ τῇ τῆς πίστεως ὀρθοδοξίᾳ
 20 τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποπεπτωκότος, Δόμνος, ὡς εἴρηται, τὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας διεδέξατο. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θέλοντος, βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αὐρηλιανὸς αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διείληφε, τούτοις νεῖμαι
 25 προστάττων τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστέλλοιεν.

Ibid. 30.

and received knowledge and prophecy, I will not dispute: howbeit I see that his dialect and language are not accurately Greek, but that he used barbarous vulgarisms, and in some places downright solecisms. But these I need not now pick out; for I do not write this in mockery—let no man think it—but only to show plainly the unlikeness of the writings.

Rescript of Gallienus.

THE Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and the other bishops. I have ordered the bounty of my gift to be declared through all the world, that they may depart from the places of religious worship. And for this purpose you may use this copy of my rescript, that no one may molest you. And this which you are now enabled lawfully to do, has already for a long time been conceded by me. Therefore Aurelius Cyrenius, who is the chief administrator of affairs, will keep this copy which I have given.

N. L.

Aurelian's Decision of the Bishopric of Antioch.

So then, as Paul had fallen from the bishopric as well as from the orthodox faith, Domnus as was said before succeeded him as bishop of the Church of Antioch. But as Paul entirely refused to leave the church-house, petition was made to the emperor Aurelian, and he gave a very just decision of the matter, by ordering the house to be given up to those with whom the bishops of the religion in Italy and Rome held intercourse.

25

LXVI.

Ἔτος τοῦτο ἦν ἐννεακαίδεκατον τῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ βασιλείας, Δύστρος μὴν, λέγοιτο δ' ἂν οὗτος Μάρτιος κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, ἐν ᾧ, τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἑορτῆς εἰσελευνούσης, ἠπλωτο πανταχόσε βασιλικά γράμματα, 5 τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔδαφος φέρειν, τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι προστάττοντα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπειλημμένους, ἀτίμους, τοὺς δὲ ἐν οἰκετίαις, εἰ ἐπιμένοιεν τῇ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ προθέσει, ἐλευθερίας στερεῖσθαι¹ προαγορεύοντα. καὶ ἡ μὴν πρώτη καθ' ἡμῶν 10 γραφὴ τοιαύτη τις ἦν· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐτέρων ἐπιφοιτησάντων γραμμάτων, προσετάττετο τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδρους πάντας τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον πρῶτα μὲν δεσμοῖς παραδίδοσθαι, εἰθ' ὕστερον πάσῃ μηχανῇ θύειν ἐξαναγκάζεσθαι.

Ibid. viii. 2.

LXVII.

15 'MAGUS fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit, Aegyptiorum ex adytis angelorum potentium nomina et remotas furatus est disciplinas.' Quid dicitis, o parvuli, incomperta vobis et nescia temerariae vocis loquacitate garrientes? Ergone illa quae gesta sunt daemonum fuere 20 praestigiae et magicarum artium ludi? Potestis aliquem nobis designare, monstrare ex omnibus illis magis, qui umquam fuere per saecula, consimile aliquid Christo millesima ex parte qui fecerit? . . .

Unus fuit e nobis, qui redire in corpora iamdudum 25 animas praecipiebat efflatas, prodire ab aggeribus conditos et post dum funeris tertium pollinctorum velaminibus expediri? Unus fuit e nobis, qui quid singuli voluerint, quid sub obscuris cogitationibus continerent tacitorum in cordibus pervidebat? . . .

30 Nihil ut reminisci magicum, nihil humanum, praestigiosum

¹ Lact. *de Mort. Pers.* 13 'ut religionis illius hominis carerent omni honore ac dignitate . . . libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent.'

The Edicts of Diocletian.

THIS year was the nineteenth of the reign of Diocletian, the month Dystrus, which is called March by the Romans, when as the feast of the Saviour's Passion was approaching, imperial edicts were published everywhere, commanding the churches to be levelled with the ground and 5 the Scriptures to be destroyed with fire, and ordering that those possessed of honour should lose their position, and that they of Caesar's household, if they held to their profession of Christianity, should be deprived of freedom. Such was the first edict against us; and before long by 10 other edicts following it was ordered that all the rulers of the Churches everywhere should first be committed to bonds, and afterwards by every art be made to sacrifice.

Our Lord's Miracles.

JESUS was a Magian; He effected all these things by secret arts. From the shrines of the Egyptians he stole 15 the names of angels of might, and the rules of a secret craft. Why, O witlings, do you speak of things which you have not examined, and which are unknown to you, prating with the garrulity of a rash tongue? Were, then, those things which were done, the freaks of demons, and the 20 tricks of magical arts? Can you specify and point out to me any one of all those magicians who have ever existed in past ages that did anything similar in the thousandth degree to Christ? . . .

Was He one of us, who ordered souls once breathed 25 forth to return to the body, persons buried to come forth from the tomb, and after three days to be loosed from the swathings of the undertaker? Was He one of us, who saw clearly in the hearts of the silent what each was pondering, what each had in his secret thoughts? . . . 30

There was nothing magical, as you suppose, nothing

aut subdolum, nihil fraudis delituit in Christo, derideatis licet ex more atque in lasciviam dissolvamini cachinnorum. Deus ille sublimis fuit, deus radice ab intima, deus ab incognitis regnis et ab omnium principe deo sospitator
5 est missus.

ARNOBIUS, *Adv. Nationes*, i. 43-53.

LXVIII.

Ex iis qui mihi noti sunt Minucius Felix non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit. Huius liber, cui Octavio titulus est, declarat quam idoneus veritatis assertor esse potuisset, si se totum ad id studium contulisset. Septimius quoque
10 Tertullianus fuit omni genere litterarum peritus, sed in eloquendo parum facilis et mi us comptus et multum obscurus fuit. Ergo ne hic quidem satis celebritatis invenit. Unus igitur praecipuus et clarus exstitit Cyprianus, quoniam et magnam sibi gloriam ex artis oratoriae
15 professione quaesierat et admodum multa conscripsit in suo genere miranda. Erat enim ingenio facili copioso suavi et, quae sermonis maxima est virtus, aperto, ut discernere non queas, utrumne oratior in eloquendo an felicior in explicando an potentior in persuadendo fuerit.
20 Hic tamen placere ultra verba sacramentum ignorantibus non potest, quoniam mystica sunt quae locutus est et ad id praeparata, ut a solis fidelibus audiantur: denique a doctis huius saeculi, quibus forte scripta eius innotuerunt, derideri solet.

LACTANTIUS, *Div. Inst.* v. i.

LXIX.

25 DIOCLETIANUS, qui scelerum inventor et malorum machinator fuit, cum disperderet omnia, ne a deo quidem

human trickery in Christ; no deceit lurked in him, although you smile in derision, as your wont is, and though you split with roars of laughter. He was God on high, God in His inmost root, God from unknown realms, sent by the ruler of all as a Saviour.

5

R.

Lactantius criticizing earlier Apologists.

Of those who are known to me, Minucius Felix was of no mean rank among pleaders. His book, which is entitled *Octavius*, shows how doughty a champion of the truth he could have been, if he had devoted himself entirely to that occupation. Septimius Tertullianus too ¹⁰ was skilled in every sort of literature, but in eloquence he had little readiness, with small polish and much obscurity. So neither did he find much popularity. Cyprianus therefore was the one more than others conspicuous and eminent, for he had won to himself much glory from his ¹⁵ profession of the art of oratory, and he has written a great number of things in their own sort worthy of admiration. For he was of a ready spirit, fluent, agreeable, and (what is a very great excellence of language) plain, so that you cannot decide whether he was more elegant in language, ²⁰ or happier in explanation, or stronger in persuasion. Yet even he cannot please—further than his words—those who do not know the mystery, since the words he has spoken are mystical, and shaped to the end that they may be understood of the faithful only: in short, by the learned ²⁵ of this world to whom his writings have by chance become known, he is commonly ridiculed.

Misgovernment of Diocletian.

WHEN Diocletian, that inventor of crimes and deviser of evils, was ruining all things, he could not refrain his

manus potuit abstinere. Hic orbem terrae simul et avaritia et timiditate subvertit. Tres enim participes regni sui fecit, in quatuor partes orbe diviso, et multiplicatis exercitibus, cum singuli eorum longe maiorem numerum
5 militum habere contenderunt, quam priores principes habuerant, cum soli rempublicam gererent. Adeo maior esse coeperat numerus accipientium, quam dantium, ut enormitate indictionum consumptis viribus colonorum, desererentur agri et culturae verterentur in silvam. Et ut
10 omnia terrore complerentur, provinciae quoque in frustra concisae: multi praesides et plura officia singulis regionibus ac paene iam civitatibus incubare; item rationales multi, et magistri, et vicarii praefectorum, quibus omnibus civiles actus admodum rari, sed condemnationes tantum
15 et proscriptiones frequentes, exactiones rerum innumerabilem, non dicam crebrae, sed perpetuae, et in exactionibus iniuriae non ferendae. Haec quoque tolerari possunt quae ad exhibendos milites spectant. Idem insatiabili avaritia thesaurus nunquam minui volebat, sed semper
20 extraordinarias opes ac largitiones congerebat, ut ea quae recondebat, integra atque inviolata servaret. Idem cum variis iniquitatibus immensam faceret caritatem, legem pretiis rerum venalium statuere conatus est. Tunc ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus, nec venale quid-
25 quam metu apparebat, et caritas multo deterius exarsit, donec lex necessitate ipsa post multorum exitium solveretur. Huc accedebat infinita quaedam cupiditas aedificandi, non minor provinciarum exactio in exhibendis operariis, et artificibus, et plaustris omnibusque quaecumque

hands even from God. He was the man who overturned the whole world, partly by avarice and partly by cowardice. He made three partners in his government, dividing the Empire into four parts, so that armies were multiplied, because each of the four endeavoured to have a much 5 greater number of soldiers than former emperors had when they ruled the state alone. Thus the receivers of taxes began to be more in number than the payers, so that by reason of the consumption of husbandmen's goods by the excess of land-taxes, the farms were left waste 10 and tilled lands turned into forest. In order too that all places might be filled with terror the provinces also were cut up into fragments, and many presidents and sundry companies of officials lay heavy on every territory, and indeed almost on every city; and there were many 15 receivers besides and secretaries and deputies of the prefects. All these very seldom had civil cases before them, only condemnations and continual confiscations and requisitions—I will not say frequent, but unceasing—of every kind of property, and in the levying intolerable 20 wrongs. Even these might be borne if they were intended to provide pay for the soldiers; but Diocletian in his insatiable avarice would never let his treasures be diminished, but was always heaping up extraordinary aids and benevolences, in order to keep his hoards untouched 25 and inviolate. Again, when by various evil deeds he caused a prodigious scarcity, he essayed by law to fix the prices of goods in the market. Then much blood was shed for trifling and paltry wares, and through fear nothing appeared in the market, so that the scarcity was 30 made much worse, till after the law had ruined multitudes it was of sheer necessity abolished. In addition to this he had an unlimited taste for building, and levied of the provincials as unlimited exactions for the wages of workmen and artificers, and the supplying of wagons and 35

sint fabricandis operibus necessaria. Hic basilicae, hic circus, hic moneta, hic armorum fabrica, hic uxori domus, hic filiae. Repente magna pars civitatis exceditur. Migrabant omnes cum coniugibus ac liberis, quasi urbe ab
5 hostibus capta. Et cum perfecta haec fuerant cum interitu provinciarum, Non recte facta sunt, aiebat; alio modo fiant. Rursus dirui ac mutari necesse erat, iterum fortasse casura. Ita semper dementabat, Nicomediam studens urbi Romae coaequare. Iam illud praetereo, quam multi
10 perierint possessionum, aut opum gratia. Hoc enim usitatum et fere licitum consuetudine malorum. Sed in hoc illud fuit praecipuum, quod ubicunque cultiorem agrum viderat, aut ornatius aedificium, iam parata domino calumnia et poena capitalis, quasi non posset rapere aliena
15 sine sanguine.

Id. *De Mort. Pers.* 7.

LXX.

INTER caetera, quae pro rei publicae semper commodis atque utilitate disponimus, nos quidem volueramus antehac, iuxta leges veteres et publicam disciplinam Romanorum, cuncta corrigere, atque id providere, ut etiam Christiani,
20 qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent: siquidem quadem ratione tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas invasisset et tanta stultitia occupasset, ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur, quae forsitan primum parentes eorundem constituerant; sed pro arbitrio
25 suo atque ut iisdem erat libitum, ita sibimet leges

everything else that was wanted for the works in hand. Here were public offices, there a circus, here a mint, there a factory of arms, here a palace for his wife, and there one for his daughter. On a sudden a large part of the city is turned out of doors: they all had to remove 5 with wives and children, as if the city had been taken by enemies. And when the works had been finished at the cost of ruin to the provinces—‘They are not done right,’ he used to say; ‘let them be done another way.’ So they had to be pulled down and altered, perhaps only to be 10 demolished again. Thus he always played the madman in his endeavour to equal Nicomedia with imperial Rome. I leave untold how many perished on account of their estates or wealth, for by the custom of evil men this was become frequent and almost lawful. Yet the worst of 15 it was this, that wherever he saw a field more carefully tilled or a house more elegantly adorned than usual, straightway an accusation and capital sentence was prepared for the owner as though he could not spoil his neighbour’s goods without shedding of blood. 20

The Toleration Edict of Galerius.

AMONGST our other arrangements, which we are always making for the use and profit of the commonwealth, we for our part had heretofore endeavoured to set all things right according to the ancient laws and public order of the Romans, and to compass this also that the Christians 25 too who had left the persuasion of their own fathers should return to a better mind; seeing that through some strange reasoning such wilfulness had seized the Christians and such folly possessed them, that, instead of following those constitutions of the ancients which per- 30 adventure their own ancestors had first established, they were making themselves laws for their own observance, merely according to their own judgement and as their

facerent, quas observarent, et per diversa varios populos congregarent. Denique cum eiusmodi nostra iussio existisset, ut ad veterum se instituta conferrent, multi periculo subiugati, multi etiam deturbati sunt; atque cum
 5 plurimi in proposito perseverarent, ac videremus, nec diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere, nec Christianorum deum observare, contemplatione mitissimae nostrae clementiae intuentes et consuetudinem sempiternam, qua solemus cunctis hominibus veniam
 10 indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque indulgentiam nostram credidimus porrigendam; ut denuo sint Christiani, et conventicula sua componant, ita ut ne quid contra disciplinam agant. Per aliam autem epistolam iudicibus significaturi sumus, quid debeant observare. Unde iuxta
 15 hanc indulgentiam nostram debebunt deum suum orare pro salute nostra, et rei publicae, ac sua, ut undiqueversum res publica praestetur incolumis, et securi vivere in sedibus suis possint.

Ibid. 34.

LXXI.

LITTERAE LICINII.

CUM feliciter tam ego Constantinus Augustus, quam
 20 etiam ego Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum convenissemus, atque universa, quae ad commoda et securitatem publicam pertinerent, in tractatu haberemus, haec inter caetera quae videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis
 25 reverentia continebatur, ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset, quo quidquid divinitatis in sede coelesti¹, nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostra sunt constituti, placatum ac propitium possit existere. Itaque hoc
 30 consilium salubri ac rectissima ratione ineundum esse

¹ Ens. H. E. x. 5 ὅ, τί ποτέ ἐστι θεϊότητος καὶ οὐρανίου πράγματος.

pleasure was, and in divers places were assembling sundry sorts of peoples. In short, when a command of ours had been set forth to the effect that they were to betake themselves to the institutions of the ancients, many of them were subdued by danger, many also ruined; yet when 5 great numbers held to their determination, and we saw that they neither gave worship and due reverence to the gods, nor yet regarded the god of the Christians—we therefore in consideration of our most mild clemency, and of the unbroken custom whereby we are used to grant 10 pardon to all men, have thought it right in this case also to offer our speediest indulgence, that Christians may exist again, and may establish their meetings, yet so that they do nothing contrary to good order. By another letter we shall signify to magistrates, how they should 15 proceed. Wherefore, in accordance with this indulgence of ours, they will be bound to pray their god for our good estate, and that of the commonwealth, and their own, that the commonwealth may endure on every side unharmed, and they may be able to live securely in 20 their own homes.

The Edict of Milan.

WHEN we, Constantine Augustus and Licinius Augustus, had happily met together at Milan, and were holding consideration of all things which concern the advantage and security of the state, we thought that amongst other 25 things which seemed likely to profit men generally, we ought in the very first place to set in order the conditions of the reverence paid to the Divinity, by giving to the Christians and all others full authority to follow whatever worship any man has chosen; whereby whatsoever Divinity 30 dwells in heaven may be benevolent and propitious to us, and to all who are placed under our authority. Therefore we thought it good with sound counsel and very right

credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi Christianorum, vel ei religioni mentem suam dederet, quam ipse sibi aptissimam esse sentiret; ut possit nobis summa divinitas, cuius religioni
 5 liberis mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque praestare. Quare scire dicatorem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, ut amotis omnibus¹ omnino conditionibus, quae prius scriptis ad officium tuum datis super Christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc libere
 10 ac simpliciter unusquisque eorum, qui eandem observandae religioni Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui id ipsum observare contendant. Quae sollicitudini tuae plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scires, nos liberam atque
 15 absolutam colendae religionis suae facultatem iisdem Christianis dedisse. Quod cum iisdem a nobis indultum esse pervideas, intelligit dicatio tua, etiam aliis religionis suae vel observantiae potestatem similiter apertam et liberam pro quiete temporis nostri esse concessam,
 20 ut in colendo, quod quisque delegerit, habeat liberam facultatem, quod nobis placuit, ut neque cuiquam honori, neque cuiquam religioni aliquid a nobis detractum videatur. Atque hoc insuper in persona Christianorum statuendum esse censuimus, quod si eadem loca,
 25 ad quae antea convenire consuerant, de quibus etiam datis ad officium tuum litteris certa antehac forma fuerat comprehensa, priore tempore aliqui vel a fisco nostro, vel ab alio quocunque videntur esse mercati, eadem Christianis sine pecunia et sine ulla pretii petitione, postposita
 30 omni frustratione atque ambiguitate, restituantur. Qui etiam dono fuerunt consecuti, eadem similiter iisdem Christianis quantocius reddant. Et iam vel hi qui emerunt, vel qui dono fuerunt consecuti, si petiverint de nostra

¹ Eus. *H. E.* x. 5 ἀφαιρεθεισῶν παντελῶς τῶν αἰρέσεων.

reason to lay down this law, that no man whatever should be refused any legal facility, who has given up his mind either to the observance of Christianity, or to the worship which he personally feels best suited to himself; to the end that the supreme Divinity, whose worship we freely 5 follow, may continue in all things to grant us his wonted favour and goodwill. Wherefore your Devotion should know that it is our pleasure to abolish all conditions whatever which appeared in former charters directed to your office about the Christians, that every one of those who 10 have a common wish to observe the Christian worship may now freely and unconditionally endeavour to observe the same without any annoyance or disquiet. These things we thought good to signify in the fullest manner to your Carefulness, that you might know that we have 15 given freely and unreservedly to the said Christians authority to practise their worship. And when you perceive that we have made this grant to the said Christians, your Devotion understands that to others also freedom for their own worship and observance is likewise left open and 20 freely granted, as befits the quiet of our times, that every man may have freedom in the practice of whatever worship he has chosen, for it is not our will that ought be diminished from the honour of any worship. Moreover in regard to the Christians we have thought fit to ordain 25 this also, that if any appear to have bought, whether from our exchequer or from any others, the places at which they were used formerly to assemble, concerning which definite orders have been given before now, and that by letters issued to your office—that the same be restored to 30 the Christians, setting aside all delay and doubtfulness, without any payment or demand of price. Those also who have obtained them by gift shall restore them in like manner without delay to the said Christians; and those moreover who have bought them, as well as those who 35 have obtained them by gift, if they request anything of our

benevolentia aliquid, vicarium postulent, quo et ipsis per nostram clementiam consulatur. Quae omnia corpori Christianorum protinus per intercessionem tuam ac sine mora tradi oportebit. Et quoniam iidem Christiani non
 5 ea loca tantum, ad quae convenire consuerunt, sed alia etiam habuisse noscuntur, ad ius corporis eorum, id est ecclesiarum, non hominum singulorum, pertinentia; ea omnia lege, qua superius comprehendimus; citra ullam prorsus ambiguitatem, vel controversiam iisdem Chris-
 10 tianis, id est, corpori et conventiculis eorum reddi iubebis: supra dicta scilicet ratione servata, ut ii, qui eadem sine pretio, sicut diximus, restituant, indemnitate de nostra benevolentia sperent. In quibus omnibus supra dicto corpori Christianorum intercessionem tuam efficacissimam
 15 exhibere debebis, ut praeceptum nostrum quantocius compleatur; quo etiam in hoc per clementiam nostram quieti publicae consulatur. Hactenus fiet, ut sicut superius comprehensum est, divinus iuxta nos favor, quem in tantis sumus rebus experti, per omne tempus prospere
 20 successibus nostris cum beatitudine publica perseveret. Ut autem huius sanctionis et benevolentiae nostrae forma ad omnium possit pervenire notitiam, prolata programmata tuo haec scripta et ubique proponere, et ad omnium scientiam te perferre conveniet, ut huius bene-
 25 volentiae nostrae sanctio latere non possit.

Ibid. 48.

LXXII.

*Εὐχομένῳ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λιπαρῶς ἰκετεύοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ,
 θεοσημία τις ἐπιφαίνεται παραδοξοτάτη· ἣν τάχα μὲν*

benevolence, they shall apply to the Vicarius, that order may be taken for them too by our Clemency. All these things must be delivered over at once and without delay by your intervention to the corporation of the Christians. And since the said Christians are known to have pos- 5 sessed, not those places only whereto they were used to assemble, but others also belonging to their corporation, namely the churches, and not to individuals, we comprise them all under the above law, so that you will order them to be restored without any doubtfulness or dispute to 10 the said Christians, that is to their corporation and assemblies; provided always as aforesaid, that those who restore them without price, as we said, shall expect a compensation from our benevolence. In all these things you must give the aforesaid Christians your most effective 15 intervention, that our command may be fulfilled as soon as may be, and that in this matter, as well as others, order may be taken by our Clemency for the public quiet. So far we will ensure that, as is already said, the Divine favour which we have already experienced in so many 20 affairs shall continue for all time to give us prosperity and successes, together with happiness for the State. But that it may be possible for this command of our benevolence to come to the knowledge of all men, it will be your duty by a proclamation of your own to publish 25 everywhere and bring to the notice of all men this present document when it reaches you, that the command of this our benevolence may not be hidden.

Constantine's Cross.

[ACCORDINGLY he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, 30 and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties.] And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvellous sign appeared to him from

- ἄλλου λέγοντος, οὐ ράδιον ἦν ἀποδέξασθαι, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ νικητοῦ βασιλέως, τοῖς τὴν γραφὴν διηγουμένοις ἡμῖν μακροῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις, ὅτε ἡξιώθημεν τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώσεώς τε καὶ ὁμιλίας, ἐξαγγείλαντος, ὅρκους τε πιστω-
- 5 σαμένον τὸν λόγον, τίς ἂν ἀμφιβάλοι μὴ οὐχὶ πιστεῦσαι τῷ διηγήματι; μάλισθ' ὅτε καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνος ἀληθῆ τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχε τὴν μαρτυρίαν. ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας, ἥδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ
- 10 ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον, ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφὴν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι, λέγουσαν· Τούτῳ νίκα. θάμβος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι κρατῆσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἅπαν, ὃ δὴ στελλομένῳ ποι πορείαν συνείπετό τε καὶ θεωρὸν ἐγίνετο θαύματος.
- 15 Καὶ δὴ διαπορεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, τί ποτε εἶη τὸ φᾶσμα. ἐνθυμουμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ λογιζομένῳ νύξ ἐπήγει καταλαβοῦσα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπνοῦντι αὐτῷ, τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ σὺν τῷ φανέντι κατ' οὐρανὸν σημείῳ ὀφθῆναί τε καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι, μίμημα ποιησά-
- 20 μενον τοῦ καθ' οὐρανὸν ὀφθεντὸς σημείου, τούτῳ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων συμβολὰς ἀλεξήματι χρῆσθαι.

EUSEBIUS, *Vita Const.* i. 28, 29.

LXXIII.

- Can. 3. Ἀπηγόρευσεν καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος μήτε ἐπισκόπῳ μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ μήτε διακόνῳ μήτε ὅλως τινὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ
- 25 ἄρα μητέρα ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἢ θείαν, ἢ ἂ μόνον πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν διαπέφευγε.

Can. 6. Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primum.
τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ

heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honoured with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed 5 his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, 10 above the sun, and bearing the inscription, CONQUER BY THIS. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle.

He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what 15 the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which 20 he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.

N. L.

Nicene Canons.

Can. 3. The great council entirely forbids it to be lawful for either bishop or elder or deacon or any at all of the clergy to have [in his house] a spiritual sister; 25 only a mother or sister or aunt, or such persons only as are past all suspicion.

Can. 6. Let the old customs prevail—those current in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis, that the bishop of

Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων
 τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν
 Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεία
 5 σῶζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις . . .

Can. 17. Ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι τὴν
 πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν διώκοντες ἐπελάθοντο
 τοῦ θείου γραμματος λέγοντος· Τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ οὐκ
 ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκῳ· . . . ἐδικαίωσεν ἡ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη
 10 σύνοδος ὡς εἴ τις εὗρεθείη μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον τόκους
 λαμβάνων . . . καθαιρεθήσεται τοῦ κλήρου καὶ ἀλλό-
 τριος τοῦ κανόνος ἔσται.

Can. 19. Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανισάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόν-
 των τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅρος ἐκτεθεῖται, ἀναβαπτίξε-
 15 σθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος . . .

Can. 20. ἐπειδὴ τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλί-
 νοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέρας· ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ φυλάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε
 τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ.

LXXIV.

20 Τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως πραγματευθέντα
 κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συγκροτηθεῖσαν
 εἰκὸς μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἄλλοθεν μεμαθηκέναι, τῆς φήμης
 προτρέχειν εἰωθυίας τὸν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀκριβῆ
 λόγον. Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀκοῆς τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας
 25 ἑτεροίως ὑμῖν ἀπαγγέλληται, ἀναγκαίως διεπεμψάμεθα
 ὑμῖν πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν προτεθεῖσαν περὶ τῆς

Alexandria have power over all these, for this is the practice with the Roman bishop also. Likewise in the case of Antioch and the other provinces let their prerogatives be preserved to the churches. . . .

Can. 17. Seeing that many on the roll of the Church in 5 following after covetousness and filthy lucre have forgotten the divine scripture (Ps. xv. 5) which says, He hath not given his money upon usury . . . the great and holy synod determines that if any be found after this decision taking usury, . . . he shall be deposed from the clergy and struck 10 off the roll.

Can. 19. Concerning former Paulianists who have betaken themselves to the Catholic Church, a rule has been put forth [by the Council itself], that they are without exception to be rebaptized . . .

15

Can. 20. Seeing that there are some who kneel on Sunday and in the days of Pentecost, it has seemed good to the holy council (that all things may be observed in every diocese) that men should offer their prayers to God standing.

20

The Letter of Eusebius.

'You will have probably learnt from other sources what was decided respecting the faith of the Church at the General Council of Nicaea, for the fame of great transactions generally outruns the accurate account of them: but lest rumours not in strict accordance with the truth should 25 reach you, we think it necessary to send to you, first, the formulary of faith originally proposed by us, and next, the

πίστεως γραφήν, ἔπειτα τὴν δευτέραν, ἣν ταῖς ἡμετέραις
φωναῖς προσθήκας ἐπιβαλόντες ἐκδεδώκασι. Τὸ μὲν οὖν
παρ' ἡμῶν γράμμα ἐπὶ παρουσία τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου
βασιλέως ἡμῶν ἀναγνωσθέν, εὖ τε ἔχειν καὶ δοκίμως
5 ἀποφανθέν, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

Ἡ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθεῖσα πίστις. Καθὼς παρελάβομεν
παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατη-
χήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν
θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρεσ-
10 βυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστευόμεν τε καὶ
ἐδιδάσκομεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν
πίστιν προσαναφέρομεν. Ἔστι δὲ αὕτη. Πιστεύω εἰς
ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων
ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν, καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον
15 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ,
φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, Υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον
πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ
Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον· δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα· τὸν διὰ
τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις
20 πολιτευσάμενον, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ
ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἥξοντα
πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύομεν
καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

Τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες,
25 Πατέρα, ἀληθινῶς Πατέρα· καὶ Υἱόν, ἀληθινῶς Υἱόν·
Πνεῦμά τε ἅγιον, ἀληθινῶς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καθὰ καὶ ὁ
Κύριος ἡμῶν ἀποστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
μαθητὰς εἶπε. Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,
βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ
30 Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· περὶ ὧν καὶ διαβεβαιού-
μεθα οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ οὕτως φρονεῖν, καὶ πάλοι οὕτως
ἐσχηκέναι, καὶ μέχρι θανάτου ὑπὲρ ταύτης συνίστασθαι
τῆς πίστεως, ἀναθεματίζοντες πᾶσαν ἄθεον αἵρεσιν.

second, published with additions made to our terms. The following is our formulary, which was read in the presence of our most pious emperor, and declared to be couched in right and proper language.

The Faith put forth by us.

“As in our first catechetical instruction, and at the 5
time of our baptism, we received from the bishops who
were before us and as we have learnt from the Holy
Scriptures, and, alike as presbyters, and as bishops, were
wont to believe and teach; so we now believe and thus
declare our faith. It is as follows:— 10

“I believe in one God, Father Almighty, the Maker
of all things, visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus
Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light,
Life of Life, Only-begotten Son, First-born of every
creature, begotten of the Father before all worlds; by 15
Whom all things were made; Who for our salvation was
incarnate, and lived among men. He suffered and rose
again the third day, and ascended to the Father; and He
will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead.
We also believe in one Holy Ghost. 20

“I believe in the being and continual existence of
each of these; that the Father is in truth the Father; the
Son in truth the Son; the Holy Ghost in truth the Holy
Ghost; as our Lord, when sending out His disciples to
preach the Gospel, said, *Go forth and teach all nations,* 25
baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Ghost. We positively affirm that we hold
this faith, that we have always held it, and that we adhere
to it even unto death, condemning all ungodly heresy.
We testify, as before God, the Almighty and our Lord 30
Jesus Christ, that we have thought thus from the heart,
and from the soul, ever since we can remember: and we

Ταῦτα ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς πεφρονήκεναι, ἐξ οὐπερ
 ἴσμεν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ νῦν φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν ἐξ ἀληθείας,
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρούμεθα· δεικνύναι ἔχοντες καὶ δι'
 5 ἀποδείξεως καὶ πείθειν ὑμᾶς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς παρεληλυθότας
 χρόνους οὕτως ἐπιστεύομέν τε καὶ ἐκηρύσσομεν.

Ταύτης ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθείσης τῆς πίστεως, οὐδεὶς παρῆν
 ἀντιλογίας τόπος. Ἄλλ' αὐτός τε πρῶτος ὁ θεοφιλέ-
 στατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὀρθότατα περιέχειν αὐτὴν ἐμαρτύ-
 10 ρησεν· οὕτω τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν φρονεῖν συνωμολόγησε, καὶ
 ταύτῃ τοὺς πάντας συγκατατίθεσθαι ὑπογράφειν τε τοῖς
 δόγμασι καὶ συμφρονεῖν τούτοις αὐτοῖς παρεκελεύετο· ἐνὸς
 μόνου προσεγγραφέντος ῥήματος τοῦ ὁμοουσίου, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ
 ἡρμήνευσε λέγων ὅτι μὴ κατὰ σωμάτων πάθη λέγοιτο
 15 ὁμοούσιος, οὔτε κατὰ διαίρεσιν, οὔτε κατὰ τινα ἀποτομὴν
 ἐκ Πατρὸς ὑποστῆναι. Μηδὲ γὰρ δύνασθαι τὴν αὔλον
 καὶ νοερὰν καὶ ἀσώματον φύσιν σωματικόν τι πάθος
 ὑφίστασθαι· θείοις δὲ καὶ ἀπορρήτοις λόγοις προσήκει
 τὰ τοιαῦτα νοεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ἡμῶν καὶ εὖσε-
 20 βέστατος βασιλεὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα διεφιλοσόφει· οἱ δὲ προ-
 φάσει τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου προσθήκης τήνδε τὴν γραφὴν
 πεποιήκασιν.

Ἡ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ὑπαγορευθεῖσα πίστις.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάν-
 25 των ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ
 Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς,
 Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ
 ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί·
 30 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ
 γῇ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
 σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα·
 παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ἀνελθόντα εἰς

have the means of showing, and, indeed, of convincing you, that we have always during the past thus believed and preached."

'When this formulary had been set forth by us, there was no room to gainsay it; but our beloved emperor himself was the first to testify that it was most orthodox, and that he coincided in opinion with it; and he exhorted the others to sign it, and to receive all the doctrine it contained, with the single addition of one word—"consubstantial." He explained that this term implied no bodily condition or change, for that the Son did not derive His existence from the Father either by means of division or of abscission, since an immaterial, intellectual, and incorporeal nature could not be subject to any bodily condition or change. These things must be understood as bearing a divine and mysterious signification. Thus reasoned our wisest and most religious emperor. The addition of the word *consubstantial* has given occasion for the composition of the following formulary:—

The Creed published by the Council.

"We believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father; only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father: by Whom all things were made both in heaven and on earth: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down, and was incarnate, and was made man; He suffered, and rose again the third day; He ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge both quick and dead. And (we believe) in the Holy Ghost. The Holy Catholic

τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας
 5 εἶναι, τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

Καὶ δὴ ταύτης τῆς γραφῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπαγορευθείσης, ὅπως εἴρηται αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τὸ τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον, οὐκ ἀνεξέταστον αὐτοῖς καταλιμ-
 10 πάνομεν. Ἐρωτήσεις τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεκινουῦντο· ἐβασανίζετο ὁ λόγος τῆς διανοίας τῶν εἰρημένων. Καὶ δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ὡμολόγητο πρὸς αὐτῶν δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ταύτη καὶ ἡμῖν ἐδόκει
 15 καλῶς ἔχειν συγκατατίθεσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ, τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας ὑπαγορευούσης ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, οὐ μὴν μέρος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν. Διόπερ ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνετιθέμεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν παραιτούμενοι, τοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης σκοποῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
 20 ἡμῶν κειμένον, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐκπεσεῖν διανοίας. Κατὰ ταυτὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα κατεδεξάμεθα· ἐπειδὴ τὸ ποιηθέντα κοινὸν ἔφασκον εἶναι πρόσρημα τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γενομένων, ὧν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχειν τὸν Υἱόν. Δι' ὃ δὴ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν
 25 ποίημα τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἐμφερές, κρείττονος δὲ ἢ κατὰ πᾶν ποίημα τυγχάνειν οὐσίας, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννησθαι διδάσκει τὰ θεία λόγια, τοῦ τρόπου τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ ἀνεκφράστου καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστου πάσῃ γεννητῇ φύσει τυγχάνοντος. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τό, ὁμοούσιον
 30 εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱόν, ἐξεταζόμενος ὁ λόγος συνίστη, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν σωμάτων τρόπον, οὐδὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ζώοις παραπλησίως. Οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ διαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτε κατὰ ἀποτομήν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τι πάθος ἢ τροπὴν

and Apostolic Church anathematizes all who say there was a time when the Son of God was not; that before He was begotten He was not; that He was made out of the non-existent; or that He is of a different essence and of a different substance from the Father; and is susceptible of variation or change.'

'When they had set forth this formulary, we did not leave without examination that passage in which it is said that the Son is of the substance of the Father and consubstantial with the Father. Questions and arguments thence arose, and the meaning of the terms was exactly tested. Accordingly they were led to confess that the word consubstantial signifies that the Son is of the Father, but not as being a part of the Father. We deemed it right to receive this opinion: for that is sound doctrine which teaches that the Son is of the Father, but not part of His substance. From the love of peace, and lest we should fall from the true belief, we also accept this view, neither do we reject the term "consubstantial." For the same reason we admitted the expression, "begotten, but not made"; for they alleged that the word "made" applies generally to all things which were created by the Son, to which the Son is in no respect similar; and that consequently He is not a created thing, like the things made by Him, but is of a substance superior to all created objects, which the Holy Scriptures teach to be begotten of the Father, by a mode of generation which is incomprehensible and inexplicable to all created beings. So also the term "of one substance with the Father," when investigated, was accepted not in accordance with bodily relations or similarity to mortal beings. For it was also shown that it does not either imply division of substance, nor abscission, nor any modification or change or alteration in the power of the Father, all of which are alien from the nature of the

ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς δυνάμεως· τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀλλότριον εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Πατρὸς φύσιν. Παραστατικὸν δ' εἶναι τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ τοῦ μηδεμίας ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὰ γενητὰ κτίσματα τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ
 5 Θεοῦ φέρειν, μόνον δὲ τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὅμοιον· καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἐτέρας τινὸς ὑποστάσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἐρμηνευθέντι τὸν τρόπον καλῶς ἔχειν ἐφάνη συγκατατίθεσθαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν λογίους τινὰς
 10 καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφέας ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ θεολογίας τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι.

Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς ἐκτεθείσης εἰρήσθω πίστεως· ἣ συνεφωνήσαμεν οἱ πάντες, οὐκ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
 15 τὰς ἀποδοθείσας διανοίας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως ἐξετασθείσας, καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογισμοῖς συνομολογηθείσας. Καὶ τὸν ἀναθεματισμὸν δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὴν πίστιν πρὸς αὐτῶν τιθέντα δεκτὸν εἶναι ἡγησάμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἀπείργειν ἀγράφοις χρῆσθαι φωναῖς, δι' ἃς σχεδὸν
 20 ἡ πᾶσα ἐγεγόνει σύγχυσις καὶ ἀκαταστασία τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Μηδεμιᾶς γοῦν θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς τῷ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, καὶ τῷ, ἣν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐπιλεγόμενοις κεχρημένης, οὐκ εὐλογον ἐφάνη ταῦτα λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν. Ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ καλῶς δόξαντι συννεθέμεθα,
 25 ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου χρόνῳ τούτοις εἰώθειμεν συγχρῆσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν. [Ἔτι μὴν τὸ ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τὸ πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐνομίσθη, τῷ παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν ὁμολογεῖσθαι εἶναι αὐτὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως. Ἦδη δὲ ὁ θεοφιλέ-
 30 στατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς τῷ λόγῳ κατεσκεύαζε καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔνθεον αὐτοῦ γέννησιν τὸ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων εἶναι αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὶν ἐνεργείᾳ γεννηθῆναι, δυνάμει ἦν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἀγεννήτως, ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰεὶ Πατρός, ὥς καὶ

unbegotten Father. It was concluded that the expression *being of one substance with the Father*, implies that the Son of God does not resemble, in any one respect, the creatures which He has made; but that to the Father alone, who begat Him, He is in all points perfectly like : 5 for He is of the essence and of the substance of none save of the Father. This interpretation having been given of the doctrine, it appeared right to us to assent to it, especially as we were aware that of the ancients some learned and celebrated bishops and writers have used the 10 term "consubstantial" with respect to the divinity of the Father and of the Son.

'These are the circumstances which I had to communicate respecting the published formulary of the faith. To it we all agreed, not without investigation, but, in the above 15 sense, after having subjected it to thorough examination in the presence of our most beloved emperor, and agreed to it in accordance with the above reasons. We also allowed that the anathema appended by them to their formulary of faith should be accepted, because it prohibits the use 20 of words which are not scriptural; through which almost all the disorder and troubles of the Church have arisen. And since no passage of the inspired Scripture uses the terms "out of the non-existent," or that "there was a time when He was not," nor indeed any of the other phrases of 25 the same class, it did not appear reasonable to assert or to teach such things. In this opinion, therefore, we judged it right to agree; since, indeed, we had never, at any former period, been accustomed to use such terms. [Moreover, the condemnation of the assertion that before 30 He was begotten He was not, did not appear to involve any incongruity, because all assent to the fact that He was the Son of God before He was begotten according to the flesh. And here our emperor, most beloved by God,

βασιλέως αἰὲ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ δυνάμει πάντα ὄντος, αἰεί
 τε καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος.] Ταῦτα ὑμῖν
 ἀναγκαίως διεπεμψάμεθα, ἀγαπητοί, τὰ κεκριμένα τῆς
 ἡμετέρας ἐξετάσεώς τε καὶ συγκαταθέσεως φανερά καθ-
 5 ιστῶντες· ὥς εὐλόγως τότε μὲν καὶ μέχρις ὑστάτης ὥρας
 ἱστάμεθα, ὅθ' ἡμῖν τὰ ἑτεροίως γραφέντα προσέκοπτε,
 τότε δὲ ἀφιλονείκως τὰ μὴ λυποῦντα κατεδεξάμεθα, ὅθ'
 ἡμῖν εὐγνωμόνως τῶν λόγων ἐξετάζουσι τὴν διάνοιαν
 ἐμφανῇ σύμπραξιν ἔχειν ἔδοξε τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ
 10 προεκτεθείσῃ πίστει ὡμολογημένοις.

THEODORET, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 12.

began to reason concerning His divine origin, and His existence before all ages. He was virtually in the Father without generation, even before He was actually begotten, the Father having always been the Father, just as He has always been a King and a Saviour, and, virtually, all 5 things, and has never known any change of being or action.]

‘We have thought it requisite, beloved brethren, to transmit you an account of these circumstances, in order to show you what examination and investigation we 10 bestowed on all the questions which we had to decide ; and also to prove how at one time we reasonably resisted, even to the last hour, when doctrines improperly expressed offended us, and, at another time, we, without contention, accepted the articles which contained nothing objection- 15 able, when after a thorough and candid investigation of their signification, they appeared perfectly conformable with what had been confessed by us in the formulary of faith which we had published.’

N. L.



INDEX

- Acts*, of Peter, 32.
 — of Paul, 34, 36.
 — of Apostles (*Eus.*), 36; (*Mur.*), 84.
 Agapé, described, 20.
 Alburnus, an unknown god, 110.
 Alexander, martyr, 78.
 Alexandria, Nicene Canon on, 176.
 Allegorical interpretation, samples from Justin, 56 sq.; Origen on, 132; Porphyry on, 142, 164.
 Ambrosius, 130.
 Anicetus, bishop of Rome, 102 *bis*.
 Antichrist, 88, 114(?).
 Antioch, Aurelian's decision, 160.
 Apocalypse: of John (*Eus.*), 36, 40; (*Mur.*), 86; (Irenaeus), 88; (Dion. Al.), 156.
 — of Peter, 36; (*Mur.*), 86.
 Apostles: in *Teaching*, 22.
 Aristides, 44.
 Aristion, 40.
 Arnobius, on our Lord's miracles, 162.
 Attalus, martyr, 68 sq.
 Aurelian, decision about Antioch, 160.
 Aurelius, illiterate confessor, 148.
 ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀπ., 52.
 Baptism, the *Teaching*, 18; Justin, 50; Tert., 118; of infants, 128; repeated, 130; schismatic, worthless, 152; heretical, 142 sq., 178.
 Basilides, 88.
 Biblias, martyr, 70.
 Bishops in Clement, 8 sq.; in *Teaching*, 26; sinful, to be retained (Callistus), 130, to be deposed (Cyprian), 150; Cyprian's theory of, 146 sq.
 Blandina, martyr, 68 sq.
Caesariani, 154, 162 (?).
 Callistus, bp. of Rome; misdeeds of, 128.
 Celsus, 132 sq.
 Cerdon, 96.
 Cerinthus and St. John, 104.
 Chiliasm, 40.
 Christian life, accounts of (*ad Diogn.*), 12 sq.; (Aristides), 46; (Tertulian), 116.
 Christian worship: (Justin), 50; (Tert.), 116.
 Christians, in the world, 12, 46; before Christ, 48, 50; not disloyal, 114; numbers of, 114; do not specially address fools, 134.
 Church discipline, 116; confounded by heretics, 122; Roman bp.'s edict, 124; relaxed by Callistus, 128; Novatian, 146; and the Confessors, 148 sq.; of sinful bps., 130, 150; Nicene Canons, 176.
 — government, 6 sq., 12, 26; Cyprian's theory, 146, 150.
 — no forgiveness outside, 146, 152.
 Clement of Rome; Letter to Corinthians, 2 sq., 62, 100; wrote Ep. Hebr., 142.
 Constantine, Edict of Milan, 170; vision of Cross, 174; at Nicaea, 182.
 Corinth, church of: Clement's letter to, 2 sq.

- Corpus (Christianorum)*, 116, 174.
 Creed, traces of, 152; of Caesarea, 810; of Nicaea, 182.
 Cross, sign of, 118; vision of, 174.
 Cyprian, on Church unity, 146 sq.; Lactantius on, 164.
- Deaconesses, 28.
 Deacons, in *Teaching*, 26.
 Demons, authors of heathenism, 46; imitated Eucharist, 52.
Diatessaron of Tatian, 60.
 Diocletian: edicts, 160; misgovernment, 164.
 Dionysius of Alexandria, on Novatian, 146; on Apocalypse, 156, 160.
 — of Corinth, 32, 60.
 Docetism, Ignatius on, 12.
 Domnus, bp. of Antioch, 160.
Δαναῖδες καὶ Δίπκρα, 6.
- Easter Question: Polycrates, 94; Polycarp, 102; Firmilian, 154.
Egregii viri, 156.
 Elders, 10, 12.
 Eleutherus, bp. of Rome, 102.
 Encratites, 58.
 Epistles: of St. Paul, fourteen (Eus.), 34, 36; (*Mur.*), 84; mutilated by Marcion, 98.
 — to Hebrews (Eus.), 34; (Origen), 142.
 — to Laodiceans (*Mur.*), 86.
 — of Clement, 62.
 — of Polycarp, 104.
 — James, 36.
 — 1 Peter (Eus.), 32, 36; (Papias), 44; (*Mur.* ?), 86; (Iren.), 90.
 — 2 Peter (Eus.), 32, 36; (*Mur.* ?), 86; (Firmilian ?), 154.
 — 1 John (Eus.), 36; (Papias), 44; (*Mur.*), 84; (Iren.), 90.
 — 2 & 3 John (Eus.), 36; (*Mur.*), 86.
 — Jude (Eus.), 36; (*Mur.*), 86.
 — Barnabas, 36.
 Eucharist, in *Teaching*, 20; Justin, 52 sq.; Tert., 118, 126.
 — unbaptized excluded from, 20, 52.
 — reserved, 54.
- Eusebius: on Epistles, 34; on the Canon, 36; on Papias, 38 sq.; intercourse with Constantine, 176; Letter of, 178.
ἐπιμονήν, 10.
- Faith and knowledge, 108.
 Fasts: the *Teaching*, 18; Montanists, 92.
 Firmilian, letter of, 154.
 Flavia Domitilla, 10.
 Flavius Clemens, 10.
 Florinus, 92.
- Gaius of Rome, 32.
 Galerius, edict of, 168.
 Gallienus, Rescript of, 160.
 Glabrio, 10.
 Gnostic, the true, 106.
 Gospels: Canonical, Eus., 36; Irenaeus, 88.
 — spurious, 36.
 — of Matthew (Papias), 44; (Ir.), 88.
 — of Mark (Papias), 42; (*Mur.*), 82; (Ir.), 88.
 — of Luke (*Mur.*), 82; (Ir.), 88; (Marcion), 98.
 — of John (*Mur.*), 84; (Ir.), 88.
- Heathenism, work of demons, 46.
 Hebrews, Gospel acc. to, 36, 44.
 Heretics, misuse of Scripture, 108; not to be argued with, 120; disorderly worship, 122.
 Hermas, *Shepherd* of, 34, 86, 90.
 Hyginus, bp. of Rome, 96, 102 sq.
- Ignatius: on episcopacy, 12; on Docetism, 12; ref. by Irenaeus, 90.
 Inspiration: of O.T., 136; of N.T., 136.
 Irenaeus, on Papias, 38; chiliastic, 48; on Gospels and Apoc., &c., 88; to Florinus, 92; on Marcion, 96; on tradition, 98; on Polycarp, 102.
- Jesus Christ, put to death, 2; Incarnation real, 12; Reason incarnate,

- 48 sq.; date of, 48; instituted Eucharist, 52; rose again on Sunday, 56; Temptation parabolical, 138; miracles, 162.
 Jewish interpretations, 56.
 John, the apostle: see *Gospels*, *Epistles*, *Apocalypse*, Papias, Polycrates, Cerinthus.
 — the Elder, 40.
 Jugglers, the works of, 134.
 Justin Martyr, on heathenism, 46 sq., on Christian worship, 50; Tatian his disciple, 58; ref. by Ir., 90.
 Justus (Barsabas), 40.
κυριακός, 26, 38, 44, 62.
 Lactantius on earlier Apologists, 164.
Lapsi (Pliny), 28; (Decian), 144, 148.
Libelli, 144, 148.
 Licinius, Emperor, 170.
 Linus, bp. of Rome, 100.
 Lord's Prayer in *Teaching*, 20.
 Lucian, confessor: recklessness of, 148 sq.
 Mappalicus, martyr, 148.
 Marcion, 88 (?), 96 sq., 102; and Polycarp, 104, 118.
 Marriages, mixed, 124; of clergy, 130; unequal, 130.
 Matthias, 40.
 Maturus, martyr, 68 sq.
 Melito, 96.
 Memoirs of Apostles, 52, 54.
 Messianic Prophecies, 56 sq.
 Milan, Edict of, 170.
 Minucius Felix, 164.
 Miracles, argument from: (Quadratus), 44; (Origen), 132; (Arnobius), 162.
 Mithras, 52.
 Montanus, 90, 128.
μαρὰν ἀθά, 22.
μωστήριον κοσμικόν, 24.
 Nicaea, Council of, 176–188.
 Noetians, 92.
 Novatian: Dion. Al. on, 146; his baptism worthless, 152.
 Origen, 130 sq.
δμοούσιον, 182 sq.
 Papias, 38 sq.
 Papirius, 96.
 Paul, apostle: at Rome (Clement), 4; (*Eus.*), 30; (*Mur.*), 84; (*Ir.*), 100.
 — confessor, 148.
 — of Samosata, 160; followers of, 178.
Pericope adulterae (?) in Papias, 44.
 Persecution, futility of, 16, 18, 114.
 Persecutions: Nero, 2, 4, 30, 110.
 — Domitian, 2, 10, 110.
 — Trajan, 26, 112.
 — Marcus Aurelius, 62 sq., 110.
 — Decius: *libellus* of, 144; *lapsi*, 148.
 — Valerian, 154, 160.
 — Diocletian, 162, 168, 170.
 Peter, apostle: put to death, 4 (Clement), 30 (Eusebius), at Rome, 32; *Preaching* of, 32; mention by Papias, 38; Gospel of, 32; *Apocalypse* of, 32.
 Philip at Hierapolis, 40, 94.
 Philosophy: preparation for the Gospel, 106; mother of heresy, 118.
 Pius, bp. of Rome, 86, 102.
 Pliny, 26 sq.
 Polycarp, martyr, 96; Irenaeus on, 102; and Marcion, 104.
 Polycrates, bp. of Ephesus, 94.
 Ponticus, martyr, 78.
Pontifex maximus, 124.
 Porphyry, on allegorical interpretations, 142.
Potentiorē principalitatem, 100.
 Pothinus, martyr, 70.
Praescriptio, 122.
 Praxeas, misdeeds of, 126.
Preaching of Peter, 32.
 Priscilla and Maximilla, 90, 128.
 Proclus, Montanist, 32.
 Prophets, in *Teaching*, 22, 24, 26; Montanist, 90.
 Quadratus, 44.

- Rome, Church of: to Corinthians, 2 sq.; apostles at, 32, 100; charity of, 60; Firmilian on, 154; Nicene Canon on, 176; Ir.'s list of bishops, 98.
- Sagaris, bishop and martyr, 96.
- Sanctus, martyr, 68 sq.
- Saturninus (1), 60; (2), 148.
- Scripture; misused by heretics, 108.
- Shepherd* of Hermas (Eus.), 34, 36; (*Mur.*), 86; (*Iren.*), 90.
- Sinners, God's dealing with, 140.
- Socrates the philosopher, condemned heathenism, 48, 50.
- Soter, bp. of Rome, 60, 102.
- Soul, Testimony of, 112.
- Stephen, bp. of Rome, 154.
- Successus, bp., 154.
- Sunday in *Teaching*, 26; Justin, 54 sq.; at Corinth, 62; no kneeling on, 118, 178.
- Tatian, 58 sq.
- Teaching* of the Apostles, 18 sq., 36.
- Telesphorus, bp. of Rome, martyr, 102.
- Tertullian: 110-128; Lactantius on, 164.
- Testimonium animae*, 112.
- Thrasedas, bp. and martyr, 96.
- Tiberius, emperor, 110.
- Tradition: Irenaeus, 98; Tert., 118, 120; variety of, 154.
- Travellers, reception of, 24.
- Usury forbidden to clergy, 178.
- Valentinus, 60, 102, 118, 120.
- Vettius Epagathus, martyr, 64.
- Victor, bp. of Rome, 94.
- Wisdom* (*Mur.*), 86; 90.
- Women: Montanist prophetesses, 90; heretic, 122.
- Zacharias, 64, 66.
- Zephyrinus, bp. of Rome, 32.
- φωτισμός, 50.

THE END.

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